Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch,
Bernadotte Perrin





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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

X

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VOLUME I.

THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

VOLUME II.

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.

VOLUME III.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS.
NICIAS AND CRASSUS.

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ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.

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AGESILAÜS AND POMPEY.
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DION AND BRUTUS.
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PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER.

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DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY.
PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

X

AGIS AND CLEOMENES, AND TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS
PHILOPOEMEN AND FLAMININUS

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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MCMXXI

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as a basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846) or to the new text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler (Teubner). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless stated in the note, that of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

In May, 1920, Professor Perrin put the finishing touches upon the eleventh and last volume of this series of the *Lives* of Plutarch for the "Loeb Classical Library," a task which he had undertaken nine years before. On August 31, 1920, he died after a brief illness, having nearly completed his seventy-third year. During the nine years, of which he

devoted the leisure hours to the translation of his favourite author, the very magnitude of the task, and the inspiration of the hope that he might leave behind him a version of the *Lives* that would make the famous men of ancient Greece and Rome, so wonderfully depicted by the great biographer, as familiar to the next generation as they were to the youth in his own boyhood, seemed to sustain and strengthen his powers. The wide and discriminating experience with modern men of action which the translator possessed, combined with the classical historian's special knowledge of the times which he was called upon to interpret after Plutarch, an author whom he had studied with sympathetic interest for many years, gave Professor Perrin peculiar qualifications for the task ; and the English-speaking world already knows with what eminent success he achieved it.

The American Editor, who had been called in constant consultation by Professor Perrin during the progress of the work, has by the wish of his family undertaken to see the present and final volume through the press. Volume XI, which will contain an extensive General Index, will, it is hoped, be published in 1922.

THE EDITORS.

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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

ΑΓΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ

ΑΓΙΣ

I. Οὐκ ἀτόπως τινὲς οὐδὲ φαύλως συγκεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φιλοδόξους ὑπονοοῦσι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰξίονι μῦθον, ὡς δὴ λαβόντι τὴν νεφέλην ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ τῶν Κενταύρων οὕτως γενομένων. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ εἰδώλῳ τινὶ τῇ δόξῃ συνόντες, οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδ' ὡμολογημένον, ἀλλὰ νόθα καὶ μικτὰ πολλὰ πράττουσιν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας φορὰς φερόμενοι, ζήλοις καὶ πάθεσιν ἐπακολουθοῦντες, ὅπερ οἱ Σοφοκλέους βοτῆρες ἐπὶ τῶν ποιμνίων λέγουσιν· Pari Editi a. 1624. 795

τούτοις γὰρ ὄντες δεσπόται δουλεύομεν,
καὶ τῶνδ' ἀνάγκη καὶ σιωπώντων κλύειν.

2 ὅπερ ἀληθῶς οἱ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ὄχλων καὶ ὁρμὰς πολιτευόμενοι πάσχουσι, δουλεύοντες καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἵνα δημαγωγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες ὀνομάζωνται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ πρωρεῖς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προορώμενοι τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀφορῶσι πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ τὸ προστασσόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων ποιοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ὁρῶντες ὑπηρέται μὲν τῶν πολλῶν εἰσιν, ὄνομα δὲ ἀρχόντων ἔχουσιν.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

AGIS

I. Not without rhyme or reason is the supposition of some writers that the tale about Ixion—how it was the cloud that he embraced instead of Hera and begat from thence the Centaurs—has an application to lovers of glory. For such men, consorting with glory, which we may call an image of virtue, produce nothing that is genuine and of true lineage, but much that is bastard and monstrous, being swept now along one course and now along another in their attempts to satisfy desire and passion. The herdsmen of Sophocles say,[1] in speaking of their flocks:—

"Of these, indeed, though masters, we are yet the slaves,
And to them we must listen even though they're dumb."

And this, in truth, is the experience of public men who act in conformity with the desires and impulses of multitudes, making themselves attendants and slaves in order that they may be called popular leaders and rulers. For just as a ship's lookout, who sees what lies ahead before the ship's captain does, nevertheless turns to him for orders and does what he ordains, so the public man whose eyes are fixed on glory is a servant of the multitude, although he has the name of ruler.

[1] Probably in the lost "Poimenes," or *Shepherds* (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 249).

II. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπηκριβωμένος καὶ τελείως
ἀγαθὸς οὐδ' ἂν ὅλως δόξης δέοιτο, πλὴν ὅση
πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διὰ τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι[1]
δίδωσι· νέῳ δὲ ἔτι ὄντι καὶ φιλοτίμῳ δοτέον ἀπὸ
τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δόξῃ τι καλλωπίσασθαι
καὶ κομπάσαι. φυόμεναι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τηλικούτοις
αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ βλαστάνουσαι τό τε κατορθούμενον,
ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, ἐκβεβαιοῦνται τοῖς ἐπαίνοις,
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὔξονται μετὰ φρονήματος ἐπαι-
2 ρόμεναι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαν πανταχοῦ μὲν ἐπισφαλές,
ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὀλέθριον· ἐκφέ-
ρει γὰρ εἰς μανίαν καὶ παραφροσύνην ὕπαιθρον
ἐξουσίας μεγάλης ἐπιλαβομένους, ὅταν μὴ τὸ
καλὸν ἔνδοξον εἶναι θέλωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸν ἡγῶνται
τὸ ἔνδοξον εἶναι. ὅπερ[2] οὖν Φωκίων πρὸς Ἀντί-
πατρον ἀξιοῦντά τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ καλῶν
"Οὐ δύνασαι," εἶπεν, "ἅμα καὶ φίλῳ Φωκίωνι
χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι," τοῦτο λεκτέον ἢ ὅμοιόν τι
3 τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς· "Οὐ δύνασθε τὸν
αὐτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀκόλουθον." ἐπεὶ
συμβαίνει γε καὶ οὕτως τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, οὗ
φησιν ὁ μῦθος τὴν οὐρὰν τῇ κεφαλῇ στασιάσασαν
ἀξιοῦν ἡγεῖσθαι παρὰ μέρος καὶ μὴ διὰ παντὸς 796
ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνῃ, λαβοῦσαν δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
αὐτήν τε κακῶς ἀπαλλάττειν ἀνοίᾳ πορευομένην
καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταξαίνειν, τυφλοῖς καὶ κωφοῖς
μέρεσιν ἀναγκαζομένην παρὰ φύσιν ἕπεσθαι.
4 τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα πεπολιτευ-
μένων ὁρῶμεν πεπονθότας· ἐξαρτήσαντες γὰρ

[1] διὰ τοῦ π., Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan: καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.

[2] ὅπερ Blass and Ziegler (with S^g p.m.): ὥσπερ.

II. The man, indeed, whose goodness is complete and perfect will have no need at all of glory, except so far as glory gives him access to achievement by reason of the confidence men have in him; but a man who is still young and is fond of honours may be allowed to plume and exalt himself somewhat even upon glory, provided that glory is the outcome of noble deeds. For the virtues, which are incipient and budding in the young, are confirmed in their proper development, as Theophrastus says, by the praises of men, and complete their growth under the incentive of pride. But excess is everywhere harmful, and in the case of men who cherish political ambitions, it is deadly; for it sweeps them away into manifest folly and madness as they grasp after great power, when they refuse to regard what is honourable as glorious, but consider that what is glorious is good. Therefore, what Phocion said to Antipater, who demanded from him some dishonourable service, "Thou canst not have Phocion as thy friend and at the same time thy flatterer," this, or something akin to this, must be said to the multitude: "Ye cannot have the same man as your ruler and your slave." Since in this case also one certainly can apply the fable of the serpent whose tail rebelled against its head and demanded the right to lead in turn instead of always following; so it took the lead, and by the folly of its progress got itself into mischief and lacerated the head, which was compelled, contrary to nature, to follow a part that had neither eyes nor ears. This, as we see, has been the experience of many of the men whose whole political activity is directed towards the winning of popular favour; they made themselves dependent on the multitude, which is borne

αὐτοὺς ὄχλων εἰκῇ φερομένων οὔτ' ἀναλαβεῖν ὕστερον οὔτ' ἐπιστῆσαι τὴν ἀταξίαν ἐδυνήθησαν.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐννοήσασιν ἡλίκην ἔχει δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν Τιβερίῳ καὶ Γαΐῳ τοῖς Γράγχοις συμπεσόντων, οὓς κάλλιστα μὲν φύντας, κάλλιστα δὲ τραφέντας, καλλίστην δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντας, ἀπώλεσεν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιθυμία δόξης ἄμετρος, ὡς φόβος ἀδοξίας ἐκ προφάσεως οὐκ
5 ἀγεννοῦς πεφυκώς. μεγάλην γὰρ εὔνοιαν προειληφότες παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ᾐσχύνθησαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ὥσπερ χρέος· ἁμιλλώμενοι δ' ἀεὶ πολιτεύμασι χρηστοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τιμώμενοι μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπολιτεύοντο κεχαρισμένως, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἴσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρός τε τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκαύσαντες, ἔλαθον ἀψάμενοι πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς οὐκέτ' ἦν τὸ ἐπιμεῖναι καλόν, αἰσχρὸν δ' ἤδη τὸ παύσασθαι.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπικρινεῖς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως· παραβάλωμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Λακωνικὸν ζεῦγος δημαγωγῶν, Ἆγιν καὶ Κλεομένην τοὺς βασιλεῖς. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον αὔξοντες, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ πολιτείαν καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἐκλελοιπυῖαν πολὺν χρόνον ἀναλαμβάνοντες, ὁμοίως ἀπηχθάνοντο τοῖς δυνατοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἀφεῖναι τὴν συνήθη πλεονεξίαν. ἀδελφοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦσαν

about at random, and then could neither recover themselves nor put a stop to the progress of disorder.

These remarks upon the glory which comes from the favour of the multitude I have been led to make because I was reminded of its great influence by the fortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were men of most generous natures, and had a most generous rearing, and adopted most generous political principles; and yet they were ruined, I will not say by an immoderate desire for glory, but rather by a fear of losing it. And this fear had no unworthy origin. For after they had enjoyed great kindness from their fellow citizens, they were ashamed to leave it unpaid, like a debt of money; and so they were forever striving by the excellence of their political services to surpass the honours conferred upon them, and were honoured all the more in consequence of their grateful political services. In this way, after kindling an equal ardour in themselves towards the people and in the people towards themselves, they engaged in enterprises wherein, though they knew it not, it was no longer honourable for them to persist, and already disgraceful for them to stop.

As to this matter, however, my reader will judge for himself from my narrative; and I shall compare with the Gracchi a pair of popular leaders in Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes the kings. For these also tried to exalt the people, just as the Gracchi did, and tried to restore an honourable and just civil polity which had lapsed for a long time; and like the Gracchi they incurred the hatred of the nobles, who were unwilling to relax their wonted greed. It is true that the

ἀλλήλων οἱ Λάκωνες, συγγενοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφῆς ἥψαντο πολιτείας, ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες.

III. Ἐπεὶ παρεισέδυ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ ζῆλος, καὶ συνηκολούθησε τοῦ πλούτου τῇ μὲν κτήσει πλεονεξία καὶ μικρολογία τῇ δὲ χρήσει καὶ ἀπολαύσει τρυφὴ καὶ μαλακία καὶ πολυτέλεια, τῶν πλείστων ἐξέπεσεν ἡ Σπάρτη καλῶν, καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττουσα παρ᾽ ἀξίαν διετέλει μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς Ἆγις καὶ
2 Λεωνίδας ἐβασίλευον, Ἆγις μὲν Εὐρυπωντίδης καὶ Εὐδαμίδα παῖς, ἕκτος ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων δυνηθέντος· ἦν γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ περὶ Μανδύριον τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Μεσσαπίων ἀποθανών, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν υἱὸς Ἆγις, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ νεώτερος, ὅς, Ἄγιδος ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντος ἀτέκνου, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε, τούτου δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ἕτερος Εὐδαμίδας, Εὐδαμίδα
3 δὲ Ἆγις, περὶ οὗ τάδε γέγραπται· Λεωνίδας δὲ ὁ Κλεωνύμου τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἦν Ἀγιάδης, ὄγδοος δὲ ἀπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ νικήσαντος ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχῃ Μαρδόνιον. Παυσανίας γὰρ υἱὸν ἔσχε Πλειστώνακτα, Πλειστῶναξ δὲ Παυσανίαν, οὗ φυγόντος εἰς Τεγέαν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ὅ τε πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἀγησίπολις ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου Κλεόμβροτος
4 ὁ νεώτερος. ἐκ δὲ Κλεομβρότου πάλιν ἄλλος Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, ὧν Ἀγησίπολις μὲν οὔτε ἦρξε πολὺν χρόνον οὔτε παῖδας ἔσχε, Κλεομένης δὲ βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν

Spartans were not brothers; still, they adopted political courses which were kindred and brother to one another. The occasion was as follows.

III. When once the love of silver and gold had crept into the city, closely followed by greed and parsimony in the acquisition of wealth and by luxury, effeminacy, and extravagance in the use and enjoyment of it, Sparta fell away from most of her noble traits, and continued in a low estate that was unworthy of her down to the times when Agis and Leonidas were kings. Agis was of the Eurypontid royal house, a son of Eudamidas, and the sixth in descent from the Agesilaüs who crossed into Asia and became the most powerful Greek of his time. For Agesilaüs had a son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandurium in Italy[1]; Archidamus had an elder son Agis, and a younger son Eudamidas, who, after Agis was slain by Antipater at Megalopolis[2] leaving no issue, became king; Eudamidas was succeeded by Archidamus, Archidamus by another Eudamidas, and Eudamidas by Agis,[3] the subject of this *Life*. Leonidas, on the other hand, the son of Cleonymus, was of the other royal house, the Agiad, and was eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Plataea. For Pausanias had a son Pleistoanax, and Pleistoanax a son Pausanias, upon whose exile and flight from Sparta to Tegea[4] his elder son Agesipolis became king; Agesipolis, dying without issue, was succeeded by a younger brother Cleombrotus, and Cleombrotus, in turn, had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes, of whom Agesipolis reigned only a short time and left no sons, while Cleomenes, who became king after him, lived to

[1] In 338 B.C. [2] In 330 B.C. [3] In 244 B.C.
[4] In 395 B.C. See the *Lysander*, xxx. 1.

μὲν πρεσβύτερον τῶν υἱῶν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι ζῶν ἀπέβαλε, νεώτερον δὲ Κλεώνυμον κατέλιπεν, ὃς οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀλλ' Ἄρευς υἱωνὸς ὢν Κλεομένους, Ἀκροτάτου δ' υἱός· Ἄρεως δὲ πεσόντος περὶ Κόρινθον υἱὸς ὢν Ἀκρότατος τὴν βασιλείαν
5 κατέσχεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ 797
περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ τυράννου, καταλιπὼν ἐγκύμονα τὴν γυναῖκα. παιδίου δὲ ἄρρενος γενομένου Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔσχεν, εἶτα πρὶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι τελευτήσαντος, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς πολίταις εὐάρμοστον ὄντα.
6 καίπερ γὰρ ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῇ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὁμαλῶς ἁπάντων, ἦν τις ἐν τῷ Λεωνίδᾳ τῶν πατρῴων ἐπιφανὴς ἐκδιαίτησις, ἅτε δὴ χρόνον ἠλινδημένῳ πολὺν ἐν αὐλαῖς σατραπικαῖς καὶ τεθεραπευκότι Σέλευκον, εἶτα τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ὄγκον εἰς Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα καὶ νόμιμον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς μεταφέροντι.

IV. Ὁ δ' Ἆγις οὕτω πολὺ παρήλλαττεν εὐφυΐᾳ καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς οὐ μόνον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ὅσοι μετ' Ἀγησίλαον τὸν μέγαν ἐβασίλευσαν, ὥστε μηδέπω γεγονὼς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἐντεθραμμένος δὲ πλούτοις καὶ τρυφαῖς γυναικῶν, τῆς τε μητρὸς Ἀγησιστράτας καὶ τῆς μάμμης Ἀρχιδαμίας, αἳ πλεῖστα χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκέκτηντο, πρός τε τὰς ἡδονὰς εὐθὺς ἀπισχυρίσασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐπιπρέψαι μάλιστα τῇ χάριτι

lose his elder son Acrotatus, but left behind him a younger son Cleonymus; Cleonymus, however, did not come to the throne, but Areus,[1] who was a nephew of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus; Areus fell in battle at Corinth,[2] and his son Acrotatus came to the throne; Acrotatus also was defeated and slain at Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus, leaving his wife with child; and after she had given birth to a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus was made the child's guardian. But the young king died before reaching manhood, and the kingship therefore devolved upon Leonidas,[3] who was altogether unacceptable to the people. For although the destruction of the constitution had already led to a general decline in manners, there was in Leonidas a very marked departure from the traditions of his country, since for a long time he had frequented oriental courts and had been a servile follower of Seleucus, and now sought to transfer the pride and pomp which prevailed abroad into Hellenic relations and a constitutional government, where they were out of place.

IV. Agis, on the contrary, far surpassed in native excellence and in loftiness of spirit not only Leonidas, but almost all the kings who had followed the great Agesilaüs. Therefore, even before he had reached his twentieth year, and although he had been reared amid the wealth and luxury of women, namely, his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia (who were the richest people in Sparta), he at once set his face against pleasures. He put away from his person the adornments which were thought to

[1] See the *Pyrrhus*, xxvi. 8 ff.
[2] In 265 B.C., in battle with Antigonus Gonatas.
[3] About 256 B.C.

τῆς μορφῆς ὡραϊσμὸν δοκοῦντα περισπάσας τοῦ σώματος, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκδὺς καὶ διαφυγὼν πολυτέλειαν, ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι τῷ τριβωνίῳ, καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ διαίτας Λακωνικὰς ζητεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιτο τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ μὴ δι' αὐτὴν ἀναλήψοιτο τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγήν.

V. Ἀρχὴν μὲν οὖν διαφθορᾶς καὶ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἔσχε τὰ πράγματα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλύσαντες ἡγεμονίαν χρυσίου τε καὶ ἀργυρίου κατέπλησαν ἑαυτούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἴκων ὃν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ὥρισε φυλαττόντων ἀριθμὸν ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς, καὶ πατρὸς παιδὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἀπολείποντος, ἁμῶς γέ πως ἡ τάξις αὕτη καὶ ἰσότης διαμένουσα τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέφερεν ἁμαρτημάτων.
2 ἐφορεύσας δέ τις ἀνὴρ δυνατός, αὐθάδης δὲ καὶ χαλεπὸς τὸν τρόπον, Ἐπιτάδευς ὄνομα, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενομένης διαφορᾶς ῥήτραν ἔγραψεν ἐξεῖναι τὸν οἶκον αὑτοῦ καὶ τὸν κλῆρον ᾧ τις ἐθέλοι καὶ ζῶντα δοῦναι καὶ καταλιπεῖν διατιθέ-
3 μενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν αὑτοῦ τινα θυμὸν ἀποπιμπλὰς ἴδιον εἰσήνεγκε τὸν νόμον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα δεξάμενοι καὶ κυρώσαντες ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρίστην κατάστασιν. ἐκτῶντο γὰρ ἀφειδῶς ἤδη παρωθοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐκ τῶν διαδοχῶν· καὶ ταχὺ τῆς εὐπορίας εἰς ὀλίγους συρρυείσης πενία τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεν, ἀσχολίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἐπιφέρουσα

befit the grace of his figure, laid aside and avoided every extravagance, prided himself on his short Spartan cloak, observed sedulously the Spartan customs in his meals and baths and general ways of living, and declared that he did not want the royal power at all unless by means of it he could restore the ancient laws and discipline.

V. And here I may say that the Lacedaemonian state began to suffer distemper and corruption soon after its subversion of the Athenian supremacy filled it with gold and silver. However, since the number of families instituted by Lycurgus[1] was still preserved in the transmission of estates, and father left to son his inheritance, to some extent the continuance of this order and equality sustained the state in spite of its errors in other respects. But when a certain powerful man came to be ephor who was headstrong and of a violent temper, Epitadeus by name, he had a quarrel with his son, and introduced a law permitting a man during his lifetime to give his estate and allotment to any one he wished, or in his will and testament so to leave it. This man, then, satisfied a private grudge of his own in introducing the law; but his fellow citizens welcomed the law out of greed, made it valid, and so destroyed the most excellent of institutions. For the men of power and influence at once began to acquire estates without scruple, ejecting the rightful heirs from their inheritances; and speedily the wealth of the state streamed into the hands of a few men, and poverty became the general rule, bringing in its train lack of leisure for noble pursuits and occupations unworthy of freemen, along with envy and

[1] See the *Lycurgus*, viii. f.

μετὰ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας.
4 ἀπελείφθησαν οὖν ἑπτακοσίων οὐ πλείονες Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ τούτων ἴσως ἑκατὸν ἦσαν οἱ γῆν κεκτημένοι καὶ κλῆρον· ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄχλος ἄπορος καὶ ἄτιμος ἐν τῇ πόλει παρεκάθητο, τοὺς μὲν ἔξωθεν πολέμους ἀργῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἀμυνόμενος, ἀεὶ δέ τινα καιρὸν ἐπιτηρῶν μεταβολῆς καὶ μεταστάσεως τῶν παρόντων.

VI. Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καλὸν ὁ Ἆγις, ὥσπερ ἦν, ποιούμενος ἐξισῶσαι καὶ ἀναπληρῶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειρᾶτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οἱ μὲν οὖν νέοι ταχὺ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ὑπήκουσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ συναπεδύσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, ὥσπερ ἐσθῆτα τὴν δίαιταν
2 ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συμμεταβάλλοντες. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, ἅτε δὴ πόρρω διαφθορᾶς γεγονότων, συνέβαινε τοῖς πλείστοις ὥσπερ ἐπὶ δεσπότην ἀγομένους ἐκ δρασμοῦ δεδιέναι καὶ τρέμειν τὸν Λυκοῦργον, καὶ καθήπτοντο τοῦ Ἄγιδος ὀδυρομένου τὰ παρόντα πράγματα καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν 798 ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπιποθοῦντος. Λύσανδρος δὲ ὁ Λίβυος καὶ Μανδροκλείδας ὁ Ἐκφάνους, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ συμπαρώρμησαν
3 αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. ἦν δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν, Μανδροκλείδας δὲ δεινότατος Ἑλλήνων πράγματα συσκευάσασθαι καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦτο καὶ δολερὸν τόλμῃ μεμιγμένον ἔχων· Ἀγησίλαον δὲ θεῖον ὄντα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ μαλακὸν καὶ φιλοχρήματον, ἐμφανῶς μὲν ὁ υἱὸς Ἱππομέδων

hatred towards the men of property. Thus there were left of the old Spartan families not more than seven hundred, and of these there were perhaps a hundred who possessed land and allotment; while the ordinary throng, without resources and without civic rights, lived in enforced idleness, showing no zeal or energy in warding off foreign wars, but ever watching for some opportunity to subvert and change affairs at home.

VI. Agis, therefore, thinking it a noble achievement, as it was, to equalize and restore to full numbers the body of citizens, began to sound the inclinations of people. The young men, as he found, quickly and beyond his expectations gave ear to him, and stripped themselves for the contest in behalf of virtue, like him casting aside their old ways of living as worn-out garments in order to attain liberty. But most of the older men, since they were now far gone in corruption, feared and shuddered at the name of Lycurgus as if they had run away from their master and were being led back to him, and they upbraided Agis for bewailing the present state of affairs and yearning after the ancient dignity of Sparta. Lysander, however, the son of Libys, Mandrocleidas the son of Ecphanes, as well as Agesilaüs, approved of the king's aspirations and supported him in them. Lysander was in the highest repute among the citizens, and Mandrocleidas was the ablest Greek of his time in setting schemes on foot, and his sagacity and craft were mingled with daring; Agesilaüs, who was the king's uncle on his mother's side, and a powerful orator, though otherwise effeminate and avaricious, was openly urged on and encouraged by his son

ἐκίνει καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν, εὐδόκιμος ἐν πολλοῖς
πολέμοις ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγα δι' εὔνοιαν τῶν νέων
4 δυνάμενος· ἡ δὲ ἀληθῶς ἀναπείσασα τὸν Ἀγησί-
λαον αἰτία τῶν πραττομένων μετασχεῖν ὀφλημά-
των πλῆθος ἦν, ὧν ἤλπιζεν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι
μεταβάλλων τὴν πολιτείαν. ὡς οὖν τάχιστα
προσηγάγετο τοῦτον ὁ Ἆγις, εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖ μετ'
αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα πείθειν, ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν τοῦ
Ἀγησιλάου, πλήθει δὲ πελατῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ
χρεωστῶν μέγα δυναμένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλὰ
τῶν κοινῶν διαπραττομένην.

VII. Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη
καὶ κατέπαυε τὸ μειράκιον ὡς οὔτε δυνατῶν οὔτε
λυσιτελῶν ἐφιέμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀγη-
σίλαος ἐδίδασκεν ὡς καλῶς ἕξει καὶ πραχθήσεται
συμφερόντως, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδεῖτο τῆς
μητρὸς ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
τὸν πλοῦτον, ὡς χρήμασι μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος πρὸς
2 τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς ἐξισωθῆναι (σατραπῶν γὰρ
οἰκέτας καὶ δούλους ἐπιτρόπων Πτολεμαίου καὶ
Σελεύκου κεκτῆσθαι πλείονα συμπάντων ὁμοῦ
τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων), ἐὰν δὲ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ
λιτότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπερ-
βαλόμενος τρυφὰς ἰσότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν κατα-
στήσῃ τοῖς πολίταις, ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ὡς ἀληθῶς
βασιλέως μεγάλου κτησόμενος, οὕτω μετέπεσον
ταῖς γνώμαις αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
ἐπαρθεῖσαι τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ τοσαύτῃ κατε-
3 σχέθησαν οἷον ἐπιπνοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ὥστε τὸν

Hippomedon, who had won fair fame in many wars, and had great influence because he stood in favour with the young men. But what really induced Agesilaüs to take part in the king's enterprise was the multitude of his debts, of which he hoped to rid himself by changing the constitution. As soon, then, as Agis had won over Agesilaüs, he straightway sought with the aid of his uncle to persuade his mother, who was a sister of Agesilaüs, and owing to the multitude of her retainers, friends, and debtors, had great influence in the state and took a large part in public affairs.

VII. When she heard her son's plea, she was at first amazed, and tried to stop the young man from attempting what she thought was neither possible nor profitable; but Agesilaüs tried to show her that the king's project would be feasible and its accomplishment advantageous, and the king himself besought his mother to contribute her wealth for the advancement of his ambition and glory. For in the matter of property, he said, he could not equal the other kings (since the servants and slaves of the satraps and overseers of Ptolemy and Seleucus had larger possessions than all the kings of Sparta put together); but if in self-restraint, simplicity, and magnanimity he should surpass their luxury, and thereby establish equality and community of possession among his citizens, he would win the name and fame of a really great king. The women, lifted up by the young man's high ambition, were so changed in their purposes, and possessed, as it were, by so great an inspiration to take the noble course, that they joined in urging and hastening on the projects of

μὲν Ἆγιν συνεξορμᾶν καὶ συνεπιταχύνειν, μετα-
πεμπομένας δὲ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ ταῖς
ἄλλαις διαλέγεσθαι γυναιξίν, ἅτε δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἐπισταμένας κατηκόους ὄντας ἀεὶ τῶν
γυναικῶν, καὶ πλεῖον ἐκείναις τῶν δημοσίων ἢ
τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῖς πολυπραγμονεῖν διδόντας.

Ἦν δὲ τότε τῶν Λακωνικῶν πλούτων ἐν ταῖς
γυναιξὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ τοῦτο τὴν πρᾶξιν τῷ
4 Ἄγιδι δύσεργον καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐποίησεν. ἀντέ-
στησαν γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες οὐ μόνον τρυφῆς ἐκπί-
πτουσαι δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν εὐδαιμονιζομένης, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἐκαρ-
ποῦντο, περικοπτομένην αὐτῶν ὁρῶσαι. καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Λεωνίδαν τραπόμεναι παρεκάλουν ὄντα πρε-
σβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ Ἄγιδος καὶ τὰ
5 πραττόμενα διακωλύειν. ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ὁ
Λεωνίδας τοῖς πλουσίοις βοηθεῖν, δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν
δῆμον ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐδὲν ἀντέ-
πραττε φανερῶς, λάθρα δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐζήτει
κακουργεῖν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς ἄρ-
χουσι καὶ διαβάλλων τὸν Ἆγιν ὡς τυραννίδος
μισθὸν τοῖς πένησι τὰ τῶν πλουσίων προτείνοντα,
καὶ γῆς μεταδόσεσι καὶ χρεῶν ἀφέσεσι πολλοὺς
ὠνούμενον ἑαυτῷ δορυφόρους, οὐ τῇ Σπάρτῃ
πολίτας.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ἆγις
ἔφορον γενέσθαι τὸν Λύσανδρον, εὐθὺς εἰσέφερε δι'
αὐτοῦ ῥήτραν εἰς τοὺς γέροντας, ἧς ἦν κεφάλαια
χρεῶν μὲν ἀφεθῆναι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας, τῆς δὲ γῆς
ἀναδασθείσης τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Πελλήνην
χαράδρου πρὸς τὸ Ταΰγετον καὶ Μαλέαν καὶ

Agis, sent for their friends among the men and invited them to help, and held conference with the women besides, since they were well aware that the men of Sparta were always obedient to their wives, and allowed them to meddle in public affairs more than they themselves were allowed to meddle in domestic concerns.

Now, at this time the greater part of the wealth of Sparta was in the hands of the women, and this made the work of Agis a grievous and difficult one. For the women were opposed to it, not only because they would be stripped of the luxury which, in the general lack of higher culture, made their lives seem happy, but also because they saw that the honour and influence which they enjoyed in consequence of their wealth would be cut off. So they had recourse to Leonidas, and besought him, since he was an older man, to withstand Agis and hinder what he was trying to accomplish. Leonidas, accordingly, was desirous of aiding the rich, but he feared the people, who were eager for a revolution. He therefore made no open opposition to Agis, but secretly sought to damage his undertaking and bring it to nought by slandering him to the chief magistrates, declaring that he was purchasing a tyranny by offering to the poor the property of the rich, and by distribution of land and remission of debts was buying a large body-guard for himself, not many citizens for Sparta.

VIII. However, Agis procured Lysander's election as ephor, and at once employed him to introduce a bill into the senate,[1] the chief provisions of which were that debtors should be relieved of their debts, and that the land should be divided up, that which lay between the water-course at Pellene and Taÿgetus,

[1] About 243 B.C.

Σελασίαν κλήρους γενέσθαι τετρακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους, τὴν δ' ἔξω μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους·
2 καὶ ταύτην μὲν τοῖς ὅπλα φέρειν δυναμένοις 799
τῶν περιοίκων μερισθῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς αὐτοῖς Σπαρτιάταις· ἀναπληρωθῆναι δὲ τούτους ἔκ τε περιοίκων καὶ ξένων, ὅσοι τροφῆς μετεσχηκότες ἐλευθερίου καὶ χαρίεντες ἄλλως τοῖς σώμασι καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντες εἶεν· σύνταξιν δὲ τούτων εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα γενέσθαι φιδίτια κατὰ τετρακοσίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ δίαιταν ἣν εἶχον οἱ πρόγονοι διαιτᾶσθαι.

IX. Γραφείσης δὲ τῆς ῥήτρας, καὶ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ταὐτὸ ταῖς γνώμαις οὐ συμφερομένων, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ὁ Λύσανδρος αὐτός τε διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ Μανδροκλείδας καὶ Ἀγησίλαος ἐδέοντο μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἐντρυφῶντας αὐτοῖς περιϊδεῖν ἐρριμμένον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε προτέρων χρησμῶν μνημονεῦσαι, τὴν φιλοχρημοσύνην ὡς ὀλέθριον τῇ Σπάρτῃ φυλάττεσθαι διακελευομένων, καὶ τῶν ἔναγχος ἐκ Πασιφάας κεκομισμένων αὐτοῖς.

2 Ἱερὸν δὲ Πασιφάας καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν ἐν Θαλάμαις τιμώμενον, ἥν τινες μὲν ἱστοροῦσι τῶν Ἀτλαντίδων μίαν οὖσαν ἐκ Διὸς τὸν Ἄμμωνα τεκεῖν, τινὲς δὲ Κασάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου τελευτήσασαν ἐνταῦθα καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα Πασιφάαν προσαγορευθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ Φύλαρχος Ἀμύκλα θυγατέρα, Δάφνην τοὔνομα, φησὶν ὑποφεύγουσαν Ἀπόλλωνα βουλόμενον αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, καὶ μεταβαλοῦσαν εἰς τὸ φυτόν, ἐν τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ
3 γενέσθαι καὶ μαντικὴν λαβεῖν δύναμιν. ἔφασαν

Malea, and Sellasia, into forty-five hundred lots, and that which lay outside this into fifteen thousand; that this larger land should be apportioned among those of the provincials who were capable of bearing arms, and the smaller among the genuine Spartans; that the number of these Spartans should be filled up from the provincials and foreigners who had received the rearing of freemen and were, besides, of vigorous bodies and in the prime of life; and that these should be formed into fifteen public messes by four hundreds and two hundreds, and should practise the mode of life which the ancient Spartans had followed.

IX. The "rhetra" was introduced in the senate, and the senators were divided in opinion. Lysander therefore called together a general assembly and discussed the matter himself with the citizens, and Mandrocleidas and Agesilaüs begged them not to suffer the insolent opposition of a few to blind them to the prostration of Sparta's dignity, but to call to mind the earlier oracles which bade them beware of the love of riches as a fatal thing for Sparta, as well as the oracles which had lately been brought to them from Pasiphaë.

Now there was a temple of Pasiphaë at Thalamae, and her oracle there was held in honour. Some say that Pasiphaë was one of the daughters of Atlas, and the mother of Ammon by Zeus, and some that Cassandra the daughter of Priam died at Thalamae, and was called Pasiphaë because she *declared* her oracles *to all.* Phylarchus, however, says that she was a daughter of Amyclas, Daphne by name, and that, fleeing the embraces of Apollo, she was changed into the tree of like name, after which she was honoured by the god with the gift of prophetic power. Be

οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ ταύτης μαντεῖα προστάττειν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἴσους γενέσθαι πάντας καθ' ὃν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξε νόμον. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἆγις εἰς μέσον παρελθὼν καὶ βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς ἔφη συμβολὰς διδόναι τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεγίστας ἣν καθίστησι· τὴν γὰρ αὑτοῦ πρῶτον οὐσίαν εἰς μέσον τιθέναι, πολλὴν μὲν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς γεωργουμένοις καὶ νεμομένοις, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσαν· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς μητέρας ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ οἰκείους, πλουσιωτάτους ὄντας Σπαρτιατῶν.

X. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἐξεπλάγη τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ περιχαρὴς ἦν ὡς δι' ἐτῶν ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίων[1] πεφηνότος ἀξίου τῆς Σπάρτης βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδας τότε δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὐναντίον ἐφιλονείκησε. λογιζόμενος γὰρ ὅτι ταὐτὰ μὲν ἀναγκασθήσεται ποιεῖν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ χάριν ἕξει παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἃ κέκτηνται κατατιθεμένων μόνῳ τῷ ἀρξαμένῳ προσθήσουσι τὴν τιμήν, ἠρώτα τὸν Ἆγιν εἰ δίκαιον ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον
2 ἡγεῖται γεγονέναι Λυκοῦργον. ὁμολογήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου, "Ποῦ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "Λυκοῦργος ἢ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἔδωκεν ἢ ξένους κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὃς οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐνόμιζεν ὑγιαίνειν τὴν πόλιν μὴ χρωμένην ξενηλασίαις;"

Ὁ δὲ Ἆγις ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ θαυμάζειν τὸν Λεωνίδαν, εἰ τεθραμμένος ἐν ξένῃ καὶ πεπαιδο-

[1] ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίων Blass (Fuhr): ὁμοῦ τριακοσίων.

this as it may, it was now said that the oracles brought from this goddess ordained that all Spartans should be on an equality according to the original law made by Lycurgus. And finally, King Agis came forward and after a brief discourse said that he offered very large contributions to the constitutions which he was trying to establish; for in the first place he put into the common stock his own estate, which included extensive tillage and pasture, and apart from this six hundred talents in money; and, besides, his mother and his grandmother did likewise, together with their relatives and friends, and they were the wealthiest among the Spartans.

X. The people, accordingly, were filled with amazement at the magnanimity of the young man, and were delighted, feeling that after a lapse of nearly two hundred years a king had appeared who was worthy of Sparta; but Leonidas, now more than ever, strove in opposition. For he reasoned that he would be compelled to do as Agis had done, and that he would not get the same gratitude for it among the citizens, but that if all the rich alike made their property a part of the common fund, the honour for it would be given to him alone who had led the way. He therefore asked Agis if he thought that Lycurgus had shown himself a just and worthy man, and when Agis said that he did, "When, then," said Leonidas, "did Lycurgus either grant abolition of debts or admit foreigners into citizenship—a man who held that the state was in no healthy way at all if it did not practise expulsion of foreigners?"

But Agis replied that he was not astonished to find Leonidas, who had been reared in foreign lands and

ποιημενος ἐκ γάμων σατραπικῶν ἀγνοεῖ τὸν
Λυκοῦργον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὀφείλειν καὶ δανείζειν ἅμα
3 τῷ νομίσματι συνεξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δ'
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξένων τοὺς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ
ταῖς διαίταις ἀσυμφύλους μᾶλλον ἐδυσχέραινε·
καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἤλαυνεν οὐ τοῖς σώμασι πολε-
μῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς τρόπους
δεδιώς, μὴ συναναχρωννύμενοι τοῖς πολίταις
τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐντέκωσι
ζῆλον· ἐπεὶ Τέρπανδρόν γε καὶ Θάλητα καὶ
Φερεκύδην ξένους ὄντας, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Λυ-
κούργῳ διετέλουν ᾄδοντες καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες,
4 ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμηθῆναι διαφερόντως. "Σὺ δὲ
Ἐκπρέπη μέν," ἔφησεν, "ἐπαινεῖς, ὃς ἐφορεύων
Φρύνιδος τοῦ μουσικοῦ σκεπάρνῳ τὰς δύο τῶν
ἐννέα χορδῶν ἐξέτεμε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Τιμοθέῳ
πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράξαντας, ἡμᾶς δὲ μέμφῃ 800
τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν ἐκ τῆς
Σπάρτης ἀναιροῦντας, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ κἀκείνων
τὸ ἐν μουσικῇ σοβαρὸν καὶ περιττὸν ὅπως
ἐνταῦθα μὴ προέλθῃ φυλαττομένων, ὅπου γενο-
μένων βίων καὶ τρόπων ἀμετρία καὶ πλημμέλεια
τὴν πόλιν ἀσύμφωνον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον ἑαυτῇ
πεποίηκεν."

XI. Ἐκ τούτου τῷ μὲν Ἄγιδι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπη-
κολούθησεν, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι τόν τε Λεωνίδαν
παρεκάλουν μὴ σφᾶς προέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γέροντας,
οἷς τὸ κράτος ἦν ἐν τῷ προβουλεύειν, δεόμενοι
καὶ πείθοντες ἴσχυσαν, ὅσον ἑνὶ πλείονας γενέ-
2 σθαι τοὺς ἀποψηφισαμένους τὴν ῥήτραν. ὁ δὲ
Λύσανδρος ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ὥρμησε τὸν Λεω-

had children by an oriental marriage, ignorant that Lycurgus had banished from the state debts and loans along with coined money, and that foreigners in the cities were held by him in less displeasure than men to whom the Spartan practices and ways of living were not congenial; these, indeed, he sought to drive away, not because he was hostile to their persons, but because he feared lest their lives and manners should contaminate the citizens, and breed in them a love of luxury, effeminacy, and greed; for certainly Terpander and Thales and Pherecydes were foreigners, and yet, because the teachings of their songs and philosophy always accorded with those of Lycurgus, they were held in surpassing honour at Sparta. "Thou praisest Ectrepes," said Agis, "who, as ephor, cut out with an edze two of the nine lute-strings of Phrynis the musician, and likewise the magistrates in the time of Timotheus, who did the same thing in their turn, but thou blamest me for trying to remove luxury, extravagance, and ostentation from Sparta, as if those magistrates also were not on the watch to prevent the pompous and superfluous in music from making such advances here that the consequent excess and discord in lives and manners would render the state dissonant and incongruous."

XI. After this, the common people took sides with Agis, but the men of wealth entreated Leonidas not to abandon them. And by prayers and arguments with the senators, whose power lay in their privilege of presenting all measures to the people, they so far prevailed that by a single vote the proposed rhetra was rejected. Lysander, however, who was still ephor, set on foot an indictment of Leonidas by virtue of

νίδαν διώκειν κατὰ δή τινα νόμον παλαιόν, ὃς οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀλλοδαπῆς τεκνοῦσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀπελθόντα τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ μετοικισμῷ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀποθνήσκειν κελεύει. ταῦτα κατὰ τοῦ Λεωνίδα λέγειν ἑτέρους διδάξας, αὐτὸς παρεφύλαττε μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων τὸ σημεῖον.

3 Ἔστι δὲ τοιόνδε· δι' ἐτῶν ἐννέα λαβόντες οἱ ἔφοροι νύκτα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀσέληνον, σιωπῇ καθέζονται πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέποντες. ἐὰν οὖν ἐκ μέρους τινὸς εἰς ἕτερον μέρος ἀστὴρ διᾴξῃ, κρίνουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὡς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ καταπαύουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μέχρι ἂν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἢ Ὀλυμπίας χρησμὸς ἔλθῃ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι τῶν βασιλέων βοηθῶν.

4 Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῷ γεγονέναι λέγων ὁ Λύσανδρος κρίσιν τῷ Λεωνίδᾳ προὔθηκε, καὶ μάρτυρας παρεῖχεν ὡς ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀσιανῆς, ἣν τῶν Σελεύκου τινὸς ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ συνοικίσαντος ἔσχε, τεκνώσαιτο δύο παιδία, δυσχεραινόμενος δὲ καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπανέλθοι παρὰ γνώμην οἴκαδε, καὶ διαδοχῆς ἔρημον ἀνέλοιτο τὸ

5 βασίλειον. ἅμα δὲ τῇ δίκῃ Κλεόμβροτον ἔπειθε τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, γαμβρὸν ὄντα τοῦ Λεωνίδα, γένους δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδας ἱκέτης γίνεται τῆς Χαλκιοίκου, καὶ συνικέτευεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τῷ πατρί, τὸν Κλεόμβροτον ἀπολιποῦσα. καλουμένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ καταβαίνοντος, ἐκεῖνον

an ancient law which forbade any descendant of Heracles to beget children by a foreign woman, and ordained that anyone who left Sparta to settle among foreigners should be put to death.[1] After instructing others to spread these charges against Leonidas, he himself, with his colleagues, proceeded to observe the traditional sign from heaven.

This is observed as follows. Every ninth year the ephors select a clear and moonless night, and in silent session watch the face of the heavens. If, then, a star shoots across the sky, they decide that their kings have transgressed in their dealings with the gods, and suspend them from their office, until an oracle from Delphi or Olympia comes to the succour of the kings thus found guilty.

This sign Lysander now declared had been given him, and indicted Leonidas, and produced witnesses showing that he was the father of two children by a woman of Asia who had been given him to wife by one of the lieutenants of Seleucus; and that owing to the woman's dislike and hatred of him he had come back home against his own wishes, where he had assumed the royal dignity, to which there was then no direct successor. Besides bringing this indictment, Lysander tried to persuade Cleombrotus to lay claim to the royal dignity. Cleombrotus was a son-in-law of Leonidas, and one of the royal line. Leonidas, accordingly, took fright, and fled as a suppliant to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House. His daughter also forsook Cleombrotus and became a suppliant with her father. When Leonidas was summoned to his trial and did not appear, he was

[1] Plutarch here merges two separate laws. Cf. the *Lycurgus*, xxvii. 3.

ἀποψηφισάμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ παρέδωκαν.

XII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος. οἱ δὲ κατασταθέντες ἔφοροι τὸν μὲν Λεωνίδαν ἀνέστησαν ἱκετεύοντα, τῷ δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ τῷ Μανδροκλείδᾳ δίκην ἐπῆγον ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι ψηφισαμένοις.
2 κινδυνεύοντες οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πείθουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁμοῦ γενομένους χαίρειν ἐᾶν τὰ τῶν ἐφόρων βουλεύματα· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἰσχύειν ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων, τῷ τὰ βελτίονα λέγοντι προστιθέμενον τὴν ψῆφον, ὅταν ἅτερος ἐρίζῃ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον· ἀμφοῖν δὲ ταὐτὰ βουλευομένων ἄλυτον εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ παρανόμως μαχεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὧν μαχομένων διαιτᾶν καὶ βραβεύειν αὐτοῖς εἶναι προσῆκον,
3 οὐχὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁμοφρονούντων. οὕτω δὴ πεισθέντες ἀμφότεροι καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς ἀγορὰν καταβάντες ἀνέστησαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν δίφρων τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἄλλους δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξαν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἀγησίλαος. ὁπλίσαντες δὲ τῶν νέων πολλοὺς καὶ λύσαντες τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐγένοντο φοβεροὶ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ὡς πολλοὺς ἀποκτε-
4 νοῦντες. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λεωνίδαν εἰς Τεγέαν ὑπεξιόντα βουληθέντος διαφθεῖραι τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἄνδρας, πυθόμενος ὁ Ἆγις

deposed, and Cleombrotus was made king in his place.[1]

XII. At this point, Lysander's term expired and he went out of office. The new board of ephors encouraged Leonidas to leave his suppliant's asylum, and brought an indictment against Lysander and Mandrocleidas for violating the law in proposing an abolition of debts and a distribution of land. Thus put in legal peril, Lysander and Mandrocleidas persuaded the two kings to act together and disregard the edicts of the ephors; for that board of magistrates, they said, derived its power from dissension between the two kings, by giving their vote to the king who offered the better advice, whenever the other was at variance with the public good; but when the two kings were in accord, their power was indissoluble, and it would be unlawful for the ephors to contend against them, although when the kings were in contention with one another it was the privilege of the ephors to act as arbiters between them, but not to interfere when they were of one mind. Persuaded by these arguments, both the kings went with their friends into the market place, removed the ephors from their seats, and appointed others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaüs.[2] Then they armed a large body of young men and set free all who were in prison, thus striking fear into their opponents, who thought they would put many of them to death. No one, however, lost his life at their hands; on the contrary, when Agis learned that Agesilaüs had plotted to make away with Leonidas as he was trying to withdraw to Tegea, and had sent men to assault him on the road, he sent out another company of

[1] About 242 B.C. [2] See chapter vi. 3 f.

ἑτέρους ἀπέστειλε πιστούς, οἳ τὸν Λεωνίδαν περισχόντες ἀσφαλῶς εἰς Τεγέαν κατέστησαν.

XIII. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ βαδι- 801
ζούσης καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνισταμένου μηδὲ διακωλύοντος, εἷς ἀνήρ, Ἀγησίλαος, ἀνέτρεψε πάντα καὶ διελυμήνατο, κάλλιστον διανόημα καὶ Λακωνικώτατον αἰσχίστῳ νοσήματι τῇ φιλοπλουτίᾳ
2 διαφθείρας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκέκτητο μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν χώραν, ὤφειλε δὲ πάμπολλα, μήτε διαλῦσαι δυνάμενος τὰ χρέα μήτε τὴν χώραν προέσθαι βουλόμενος ἔπεισε τὸν Ἆγιν ὡς ἀμφοτέρων μὲν ἅμα πραττομένων μέγας ἔσοιτο περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νεωτερισμός, εἰ δὲ τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει θεραπευθεῖεν οἱ κτηματικοὶ πρότερον, εὐκόλως ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν[1]
3 ὕστερον ἐνδεξομένων τὸν ἀναδασμόν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Λύσανδρον ἐδόκει, συνεξαπατωμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρεωστῶν γραμματεῖα συνενέγκαντες εἰς ἀγοράν, ἃ κλάρια καλοῦσι, καὶ πάντα συνθέντες εἰς ἓν συνέπρησαν. ἀρθείσης δὲ φλογὸς οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι καὶ δανειστικοὶ περιπαθοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ὥσπερ ἐφυβρίζων οὐκ ἔφη λαμπρότερον ἑωρακέναι φῶς οὐδὲ πῦρ ἐκείνου καθαρώτερον.

4 Ἀξιούντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν εὐθὺς νέμεσθαι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οὕτω ποιεῖν κελευόντων, ἀσχολίας τινὰς ἐμβάλλων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀεὶ καὶ προφάσεις λέγων παρῆγε τὸν χρόνον, ἄχρι οὗ στρατεία συνέβη τῷ Ἄγιδι, μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχων ὄντων

[1] καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν Coraës and Ziegler: καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

trusted followers who took Leonidas under their protection and brought him safely to Tegea.

XIII. Thus the enterprise of the kings was making good progress and no one tried to oppose or hinder them, when one man, Agesilaüs, upset and ruined everything. He allowed a most shameful disease of avarice to wreck a most noble and most truly Spartan plan. For since he was an exceedingly large owner of valuable land, but owed huge sums of money, being unable to pay his debts and unwilling to give up his lands, he persuaded Agis that if both his projects should be carried through at the same time the resulting convulsion in the state would be great; but that if the men of property should first be won over by a remission of their debts, they would afterwards accept the distribution of land contentedly and quietly. This was also the opinion of Lysander, who was deceived in like manner by Agesilaüs. So they caused the mortgages (the Spartans call them "klaria," or *allotment pledges*) to be brought into the market-place, heaped them altogether, and set fire to them. As the flames rose, the men of wealth and the lenders of money went away with heavy hearts; but Agesilaüs, as if in mockery of them, declared that his eyes had never seen a brighter or purer flame than that.

And now the multitude demanded also that the land should at once be divided, and the kings gave orders that this should be done; but Agesilaüs would always interpose some obstacle or make some excuse, and so consumed time until it became the duty of Agis to head a military expedition, when the Achaeans, who were their allies, sent

βοήθειαν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπίδοξοι διὰ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐμβαλοῦντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον· καὶ τοῦτο κωλύσων Ἄρατος ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς ἤθροιζε δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔγραφεν.

XIV. *Οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἆγιν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπον ἐπηρμένον τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν συστρατευομένων. νέοι γὰρ ὄντες οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πένητες, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεῶν ἄδειαν ἔχοντες ἤδη καὶ λελυμένοι, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς ἐλπίζοντες, ἂν ἐπανέλθωσιν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας, νεμηθήσεσθαι, θαυμαστοὺς τῷ Ἄγιδι παρεῖχον ἑαυτούς·*
2 *καὶ θέαμα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἦσαν ἀβλαβῶς καὶ πράως καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀψοφητὶ διαπορευόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἷος ἦν ἄρα κόσμος Λακωνικοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀγησίλαον ἔχοντος ἢ Λύσανδρον ἐκεῖνον ἢ Λεωνίδαν τὸν παλαιὸν ἡγούμενον, ὅπου πρὸς μειράκιον ὀλίγου δεῖν νεώτατον ἁπάντων αἰδὼς τοσαύτη καὶ φόβος ἐστὶ*
3 *τῶν συστρατευομένων.*[1] *καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νεανίσκος εὐτελείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἰδιώτου λαμπρότερον ἠμφιέσθαι καὶ ὡπλίσθαι σεμνυνόμενος ἀξιοθέατος ἦν καὶ ζηλωτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε πλουσίοις οὐκ ἤρεσκεν ὁ νεωτερισμὸς αὐτοῦ, δεδιόσι μὴ κίνημα καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε δήμοις γένηται.*

XV. *Συμμίξας δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ περὶ Κόρινθον ὁ Ἆγις ἔτι βουλευομένῳ περὶ μάχης καὶ παρατάξεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεδείξατο καὶ προθυμίαν πολλὴν καὶ τόλμαν οὐ μανικὴν οὐδὲ*

[1] *συστρατευομένων* Blass : *στρατευομένων*.

for aid from Sparta. For the Aetolians were expected to invade Peloponnesus by way of Megara; and Aratus, the general of the Achaeans, in an effort to prevent this, was assembling a force and wrote a letter to the ephors.

XIV. These at once sent out Agis, who was exalted in spirit by the ambition and ardour of the soldiers under him. For being young men for the most part and poor, and having now immunity from their debts and absolution, and expecting that they would receive allotments of land if they returned from the expedition, their devotion to Agis was astonishing. And they were a spectacle to the cities as they marched through the Peloponnesus without doing any injury, without rudeness, and almost without noise, so that the other Greeks were amazed and asked themselves what must have been the discipline of a Spartan army under the command of the great Agesilaüs, or the famous Lysander, or Leonidas of old, since towards a stripling who was almost the youngest of the whole army so great reverence and fear were felt by his soldiers. And indeed the young man himself, owing to his simplicity, his love of hardships, and the pride he took in clothing and arming himself with no more splendour than a common soldier, won the admiration and devotion of the multitudes; for to the rich, certainly, his innovating ways were not pleasing, owing to a fear that they might prove a disturbing force and set a bad example among the common people everywhere.

XV. Aratus, when Agis joined him near Corinth, was still deliberating whether or not to meet the enemy in open battle. Here Agis displayed great ardour, and courage which was sane and calculating.

ἀλόγιστον. ἔφη γὰρ αὐτῷ μὲν δοκεῖν διαμάχεσθαι καὶ μὴ παριέναι τὸν πόλεμον εἴσω, τὰς πύλας τῆς Πελοποννήσου προεμένους, ποιήσειν δὲ τὸ δοκοῦν Ἀράτῳ· καὶ γὰρ πρεσβύτερόν τε εἶναι καὶ στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν, οἷς οὐχὶ προστάξων οὐδὲ ἡγησόμενος, ἀλλὰ συστρατευσόμενος ἥκοι καὶ βοηθήσων.

2 Ὁ δὲ Σινωπεὺς Βάτων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν μάχεσθαί φησι τὸν Ἆγιν Ἀράτου κελεύοντος, οὐκ ἐντετυχηκὼς οἷς Ἄρατος γέγραφε περὶ τούτων, ἀπολογιζόμενος ὅτι βέλτιον ἡγεῖτο, τοὺς καρποὺς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας συγκεκομισμένων ἤδη τῶν γεωργῶν, παρελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μάχῃ διακινδυνεῦσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων.

3 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν Ἄρατος ἀπέγνω μάχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπαινέσας διαφῆκε, θαυμασθεὶς ὁ Ἆγις ἀνεζεύγνυεν, ἤδη τῶν ἔνδον ἐν Σπάρτῃ 802
θόρυβον πολὺν ἐχόντων καὶ μεταβολήν.

XVI. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος ἐφορεύων, ἀπηλλαγμένος οἷς ταπεινὸς ἦν πρότερον, οὐδενὸς ἐφείδετο φέροντος ἀργύριον ἀδικήματος, ἀλλὰ μῆνα τρισκαιδέκατον, οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τότε τῆς περιόδου, παρὰ τὴν νενομισμένην τάξιν τῶν χρόνων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ παρέπραττε. δεδιὼς δὲ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων ἔτρεφε μαχαιροφόρους, καὶ φυλαττόμενος ὑπὸ τούτων
2 κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον. καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ μὲν ὅλως καταφρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἆγιν ἐβούλετο

For he declared that in his opinion it was best to fight a decisive battle and not to abandon the gate of the Peloponnesus and suffer the enemy to pass inside: "However," he said, "I will do as seems best to Aratus, for Aratus is an older man, and is general of the Achaeans; I did not come hither to be their leader or to give them orders, but to give them aid and share their expedition."

Baton of Sinopé, however, says that Agis himself was unwilling to give battle although Aratus urged it; but Baton has not read what Aratus wrote about this matter,[1] urging in self-defence that he thought it better, now that the husbandmen had gathered in almost all their crops, to suffer the enemy to pass by, instead of risking everything in battle.

When, therefore, Aratus decided not to give battle, and dismissed his allies with praises for their proffered aid, Agis, who had won universal admiration, led his forces back to Sparta, where there was already much commotion and a revolution.

XVI. For Agesilaüs, who was one of the ephors, being now freed from what had kept him in restraint before, shrank from no injustice that brought him money, nay, contrary to the customary arrangement of the calendar, and when the time for it had not yet come, he inserted a thirteenth month[2] and exacted the taxes for it. Moreover, in fear of the victims of his injustice and hated by all men, he kept an armed bodyguard, and would go down to his magistracy under their protection. And as for the kings, he wished men to think that he utterly despised the one,

[1] In his "Commentaries." See the *Aratus*, iii. 2.

[2] This was regularly done thrice during a period of nine years, but in distinctly specified years. The object was to equalize the lunar and solar years.

δοκεῖν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔν τινι τιμῇ τίθεσθαι. διέδωκε δὲ λόγον ὡς καὶ αὖθις ἐφορεύσων.

Διὸ καὶ θᾶσσον ἀποκινδυνεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ συστάντες ἐκ Τεγέας ἀναφανδὸν τὸν Λεωνίδαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήγαγον, ἡδέως καὶ τῶν πολλῶν θεασαμένων· ὠργίζοντο γὰρ πεφενακισμένοι τῆς
3 χώρας μὴ νεμηθείσης. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ υἱὸς Ἱππομέδων, δεόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πᾶσι προσφιλὴς ὢν δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, ὑπεξήγαγε καὶ διέσωσε· τῶν δὲ βασιλέων ὁ μὲν Ἆγις ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκίοικον κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐλθὼν ἱκέτευε· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τούτῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Λεωνίδας χαλεπὸς εἶναι, καὶ παρεὶς τὸν Ἆγιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνέβη στρατιώτας ἔχων· καὶ κατηγόρει μετ' ὀργῆς ὅτι γαμβρὸς ὢν ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφείλετο καὶ συνεξέβαλε τῆς πατρίδος.

XVII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεόμβροτος οὐδὲν εἶχεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἠπορημένος ἐκάθητο καὶ σιωπῶν· ἡ δὲ Χιλωνίς, ἡ τοῦ Λεωνίδου θυγάτηρ, πρότερον μὲν ἀδικουμένῳ τῷ πατρὶ συνηδικεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ἀποστᾶσα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν ἐθεράπευε, καὶ παρόντι μὲν συνικέτευε, φεύγοντος δὲ πενθοῦσα καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸν Κλεόμβροτον διετέλει, τότε δὲ αὖ πάλιν ταῖς τύχαις συμμετα-

and held Agis in some slight honour more because of his near relationship than because he was king. He also spread reports that he was going to be ephor again.

For this reason his enemies lost no time in taking the great hazard, and banding together, openly brought home Leonidas from Tegea to exercise the royal power. Even the common people were glad to see this done, for they were incensed at their deception in the promised division of the land. Agesilaüs, accordingly, was taken out of the country and saved by his son Hippomedon, who entreated his fellow-citizens, and was beloved of all because of his valour; and as for the kings, Agis fled for refuge to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, while Cleombrotus went as a suppliant to the sanctuary of Poseidon;[1] for Leonidas was thought to be more bitter against him, and in fact he left Agis unmolested and went up against Cleombrotus with soldiers. And when he arrived he denounced Cleombrotus angrily because, though a son-in-law, he had plotted against him, robbed him of the royal power, and helped in driving him from the country.

XVII. Cleombrotus, on his part, had naught to say for himself, but sat perplexed and speechless; Chilonis, however, the daughter of Leonidas, who before this had felt herself wronged in the wrongs done to her father, and when Cleombrotus was made king had left him and ministered to her father in his misfortunes,—sharing his suppliant life while he was in the city, and in his exile continually grieving for him and cherishing bitter thoughts of Cleombrotus—at this

[1] On the promontory of Taenarum. See the *Cleomenes*, xxii. 5.

βάλλουσα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱκέτις ὤφθη καθεζομένη, περιβεβληκυῖα τὰς χεῖρας ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν παιδίων τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν, τὸ δ' ἔνθεν ὑφ' αὑτὴν
2 *ἔχουσα. θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ δακρυόντων ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ τῆς γυναικός, ἁψαμένη τῶν πέπλων καὶ τῆς κόμης ἀτημελῶς ἐχόντων,* "Τοῦτο," *εἶπεν,* "*ὦ πάτερ, ἐμοὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐχ ὁ* Κλεομβρότου *περιτέθεικεν ἔλεος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν κακῶν καὶ τῆς σῆς φυγῆς μεμένηκέ μοι σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον τὸ πένθος. πότερον οὖν δεῖ με σοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ νικῶντος ἐγκαταβιῶναι ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς, ἢ λαβεῖν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν καὶ βασιλικήν, ἐπιδοῦσαν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὸν παρθένιον*
3 *ἄνδρα φονευόμενον; ὃς εἰ μὴ παραιτεῖταί σε μηδὲ πείθει τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς δάκρυσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἢ σὺ βούλει δίκην ὑφέξει τῆς κακοβουλίας ἐπιδὼν ἐμὲ τὴν φιλτάτην αὐτῷ προαποθανοῦσαν. τίνι γὰρ ἐμὲ δεῖ ζῆν παρρησίᾳ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας, ᾗ μήτε παρ' ἀνδρὸς δεομένῃ μήτε παρὰ πατρὸς ἔλεός ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ συνατυχεῖν καὶ συνατιμάζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς*
4 *ἐγενόμην. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν εἰ καί τις ἦν λόγος εὐπρεπής, ἐγὼ τοῦτον ἀφειλόμην τότε σοὶ συνεξετασθεῖσα καὶ καταμαρτυρήσασα τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου γενομένων· σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀδίκημα ποιεῖς εὐαπολόγητον, οὕτω μέγα καὶ περιμάχητον ἀποφαίνων τὸ βασιλεύειν ὥστε δι' αὐτὸ καὶ γαμβροὺς φονεύειν καὶ τέκνων ἀμελεῖν εἶναι δίκαιον.*"

XVIII. Ἡ *μὲν* Χιλωνὶς *τοιαῦτα ποτνιωμένη τό τε πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπέθηκε τοῦ* Κλεομβρότου, *καὶ τὸ βλέμμα διεφθαρμένον καὶ*

time changed back again with the changed fortunes of the men, and was seen sitting as a suppliant with her husband, her arms thrown about him, and a little child clinging to her on either side. All beholders were moved to wonder and tears at the fidelity and devotion of the woman, who, touching her robes and her hair, alike unkempt, said: "This garb, my father, and this appearance, are not due to my pity for Cleombrotus; nay, ever since thy sorrows and thine exile grief has been my steadfast mate and companion. Must I, then, now that thou art king in Sparta and victorious over thine enemies, continue to live in this sad state, or put on the splendid attire of royalty, after seeing the husband of my youth slain at thy hands? That husband, unless he persuades and wins thee over by the tears of his wife and children, will pay a more grievous penalty for his evil designs than thou desirest, for he shall see me, his most beloved one, dead before he is. For with what assurance could I live and face the other women, I, whose prayers awakened no pity in either husband or father? Nay, both as wife and as daughter I was born to share only the misfortune and dishonour of the men nearest and dearest to me. As for my husband, even if he had some plausible excuse for his course, I robbed him of it at that time by taking thy part and testifying to what he had done; but thou makest his crime an easy one to defend by showing men that royal power is a thing so great and so worth fighting for that for its sake it is right to slay a son-in-law and ignore a child."

XVIII. Uttering such supplications Chilonis rested her face upon the head of Cleombrotus and turned

συντετηκὸς ὑπὸ λύπης περιήνεγκεν εἰς τοὺς
παρόντας. ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδας διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς φίλοις 803
τὸν μὲν Κλεόμβροτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστάντα φεύ-
γειν, τῆς δὲ παιδὸς μένειν ἐδεῖτο καὶ μὴ κατα-
λιπεῖν ἑαυτὸν οὕτω φιλοῦντα καὶ δεδωκότα χάριν
2 τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ σωτηρίαν. οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν,
ἀλλ' ἀνισταμένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ θάτερον τῶν παιδίων
ἐγχειρίσασα, θάτερον δ' ἀναλαβοῦσα καὶ προσκυ-
νήσασα τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ[1] θεοῦ συνεξῆλθεν, ὥστε
εἰ μὴ πάνυ διεφθαρμένος ἦν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ὁ
Κλεόμβροτος, εὐτύχημα ἂν ἡγήσατο τὴν φυγὴν
αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας μεῖζον εἶναι διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα.

Μεταστησάμενος δὲ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον ὁ Λεωνί-
δας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐφόρους ἐκβαλὼν τῆς
ἀρχῆς, ἑτέρους δὲ ποιησάμενος, εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε
3 τῷ Ἄγιδι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀνα-
στῆναι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν, ὡς δεδωκότων συγγνώ-
μην τῶν πολιτῶν· συνεξηπατῆσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Ἀγησιλάου νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλότιμον. ἐκείνου
δὲ ὑφορωμένου καὶ κατὰ χώραν μένοντος αὐτὸς
μὲν ἐπαύσατο φενακίζων καὶ κατειρωνευόμενος,
Ἀμφάρης δὲ καὶ Δαμοχάρης καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος
ἀναβαίνοντες εἰώθεσαν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι· καί
ποτε καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἱεροῦ κατήγαγον καὶ λουσάμενον πάλιν εἰς τὸ
4 ἱερὸν κατέστησαν. καὶ ἦσαν πάντες· μὲν αὐτῷ
συνήθεις, ὁ δὲ Ἀμφάρης καὶ κεχρημένος[2] ἔναγχος

[1] *τοῦ θεοῦ* Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan; *τῆς θεοῦ.* [2] *καὶ κεχρημένος* Coraës and Bekker delete *καί.*

her eyes, all melted and marred with grief, upon the bystanders. Then Leonidas, after conference with his friends, bade Cleombrotus leave his asylum and go into exile, but begged his daughter to remain, and not to abandon him, since he loved her so much, and had made her a free gift of her husband's life. He could not persuade her, however, but when her husband rose to go she put one of her children in his arms, took up the other one herself, and went forth in his company after an obeisance to the altar of the god; so that if Cleombrotus had not been wholly corrupted by vain ambition, he would have considered that exile was a greater blessing for him than the kingdom, because it restored to him his wife.

After removing Cleombrotus from his asylum, Leonidas expelled the officiating ephors from their office, appointed others in their place, and at once began to lay plots against the life of Agis. To begin with, he tried to persuade Agis to leave his asylum and share the royal power with him, assuring Agis that the citizens had pardoned him, because, being a young man and ambitious, he had been one of those whom Agesilaüs had completely deceived. But Agis continued to be suspicious and would not leave his asylum. So Leonidas himself stopped trying to cheat and play tricks upon him, but Amphares, Damochares, and Arcesilaüs did not. They were wont to go up to the temple and converse with Agis; and once they actually took him in charge and brought him down from the temple for a bath, and after he had bathed, restored him again to the temple. They were all comrades of his, but Amphares had also borrowed recently some

ἱμάτια καὶ ποτήρια τῶν πολυτελῶν παρὰ τῆς Ἀγησιστράτας ἐπεβούλευε διὰ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὡς ἀποστερήσων. καὶ μάλιστά γε αὐτὸς ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ Λεωνίδᾳ λέγεται καὶ παροξῦναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς ἦν.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἆγις τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διέτριβε χρόνον, εἰώθει δὲ καταβαίνειν ὅτε τύχοι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἐκεῖ συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν, ὅταν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ γένηται. καὶ παραφυλάξαντες λελουμένον ἀπήντησαν καὶ ἠσπάσαντο, καὶ συμπροῆγον ἅμα διαλεγόμενοι καὶ
2 παίζοντες ὡς πρὸς συνήθη καὶ νέον. ἐκτροπὴν δέ τινα τῆς ὁδοῦ πλαγίαν πρὸς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐχούσης, ὡς ἐγένοντο κατ' αὐτὴν βαδίζοντες, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφάρης διὰ τὸ ἄρχειν ἁψάμενος τοῦ Ἄγιδος, "Ἄγω σε," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὦ Ἆγι, λόγον ὑφέξοντα τῶν πεπολιτευμένων·" ὁ δὲ Δαμοχάρης, εὔρωστος ὢν καὶ μέγας, τὸ ἱμάτιον
3 περιβαλὼν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἷλκεν. ἄλλων δὲ ἐπωθούντων ὄπισθεν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, οὐδενὸς βοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐρημίας οὔσης, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. εὐθὺς δὲ παρῆν ὁ μὲν Λεωνίδας μισθοφόρους ἔχων πολλούς, καὶ τὸ οἴκημα περιέσχεν ἔξωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸν Ἆγιν εἰσῆλθον, καὶ τῶν γερόντων εἰς τὸ οἴκημα μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς ταὐτὰ βουλομένους, ὡς δὴ κρίσεως αὐτῷ γινομένης, ἐκέλευον ὑπὲρ τῶν πε-
4 πραγμένων ἀπολογεῖσθαι. γελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὴν εἰρωνείαν αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφάρης οἰμωξόμενον ἐκάλει καὶ δίκην ὑφέξοντα τῆς ἰταμότητος· ἄλλος δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων, οἷον ἐνδιδοὺς

costly vestures and beakers from Agesistrata, and therefore plotted to destroy the king and the women, that he might not have to return what he had borrowed. And he, certainly, more than anyone else, as we are told, followed the counsels of Leonidas and embittered the ephors, of whom he was one, against Agis.

XIX. Now Agis spent most of his time in the sanctuary, but was wont to go down from time to time to his bath. There, then, they determined to seize him, when he was outside the sanctuary. So they waited till he had finished his bath, and then came to meet him with friendly greetings, and walked along with him, conversing and jesting with him after the manner of youthful comrades. But at a certain point the road branched off towards the prison, and when they were come to that place, Amphares, by virtue of his office, laid hands on Agis and said: "I shall lead thee, Agis, to the ephors, to answer for thy measures of state"; and Damochares, who was tall and robust, threw his cloak about the king's neck and dragged him along. Others pushed him along from behind, as had been agreed, and since he had no helper but was without a friend, they thrust him into the prison. At once Leonidas was at hand with a large band of mercenaries and surrounded the prison, while the ephors went in to Agis. After sending for those of the senators who were of the same mind as themselves, as though the king were to have a trial, the ephors ordered Agis to defend his conduct of affairs. The young king laughed at their dissimulation, whereupon Amphares threatened that he would rue the day and be punished for his temerity; but another ephor, as

τῷ Ἄγιδι καὶ δεικνύων ἀποφυγὴν τῆς αἰτίας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καὶ
5 Ἀγησιλάου βιασθείς. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἄγιδος ὡς βιασθεὶς μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενός, ζηλῶν δὲ καὶ μιμούμενος τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔλθοι πολιτείαν, πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἠρώτησεν εἰ μετανοεῖ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου μὴ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάλλιστα βεβουλευμένοις, κἂν τὰ ἔσχατα πεισόμενον αὐτὸν ἴδῃ, θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας
6 ἐκέλευον ἄγειν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Δεχάδα. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν οἴκημα τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἐν ᾧ θανατοῦσι τοὺς καταδίκους ἀποπνίγοντες. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ὁ Δαμοχάρης οὐ τολμῶντας ἅψασθαι τοῦ Ἄγιδος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς παρεστῶτας ἀποστρεφομένους καὶ φεύγοντας τὸ ἔργον, ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νενομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς 804 χεῖρας προσφέρειν, διαπειλησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ λοιδορηθεὶς εἷλκεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ οἴκημα τὸν Ἄγιν.
7 ἤδη γὰρ ᾔσθηντο πολλοὶ τὴν σύλληψιν, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις καὶ φῶτα πολλά, καὶ παρῆσαν ἥ τε μήτηρ τοῦ Ἄγιδος καὶ ἡ μάμμη βοῶσαι καὶ δεόμεναι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν λόγου καὶ κρίσεως τυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς πολίταις. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα κατήπειξαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ὡς ἐξαρπαγησομένου νυκτὸς ἂν πλείονες ἐπέλθωσιν.

XX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄγις ἐπὶ τὴν στραγγάλην πορευόμενος, ὡς εἶδέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δακρύ-

though plainly offering Agis a way of escape from the charges against him, asked him if he had done what he did under compulsion from Lysander and Agesilaüs. And when Agis answered that he had suffered compulsion from no one, but that in admiration and imitation of Lycurgus he had adopted the same public policy as his, the same ephor asked again if he repented of what he had done. But the young king declared that he had no repentance for what he had most excellently planned, and would not have, even if he saw that he was to suffer the extremest penalty. So they condemned him to death, and ordered the officers to lead him into the "Dechas," as it was called. This is a chamber of the prison in which they strangle those who are under sentence of death. But Damochares, when he saw that the officers did not dare to lay hands on Agis, and likewise that even the mercenaries who were there shrank from the deed and were loth to do it, feeling as they did that it was contrary to the laws of God and man to lay hands upon the person of a king, heaped threats and abuse upon them and himself dragged Agis into the chamber of death. For already many people were aware of the arrest, and there was a noisy throng at the door and many torches, and the mother and grandmother of Agis were there, with cries and prayers that the king of the Spartans should have a hearing and a trial before the citizens. For this reason especially the ephors hastened on the king's execution, believing that he would be taken out of their hands in the night if the concourse should increase.

XX. Agis, then, on his way to the halter, saw one of the officers shedding tears of sympathy for him.

οντα καὶ περιπαθοῦντα, "Παῦσαί με," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνθρωπε, κλαίων· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπολλύμενος κρείττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἀναιρούντων·" καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τῷ βρόχῳ τὸν
2 *τράχηλον ἑκουσίως. ὁ δὲ Ἀμφάρης προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὴν Ἀγησιστράταν προσπεσοῦσαν αὐτῷ διὰ συνήθειαν καὶ φιλίαν ἀναστήσας, οὐδὲν ἔφη περὶ τὸν Ἆγιν ἔσεσθαι βίαιον οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον· ἐκέλευε δὲ κἀκείνην, εἰ βούλοιτο, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰσελθεῖν. ἐκείνης δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα μετ' αὐτῆς παρεῖναι δεομένης οὐδὲν ἔφη κωλύειν*
3 *ὁ Ἀμφάρης· καὶ δεξάμενος ἀμφοτέρας, καὶ πάλιν κλεῖσαι τὰς θύρας τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου κελεύσας, προτέραν μὲν τὴν Ἀρχιδαμίαν παρέδωκεν, ἤδη σφόδρα πρεσβῦτιν οὖσαν καὶ καταγεγηρακυῖαν ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγίστῳ τῶν πολιτίδων, ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐκείνης ἐκέλευσε τὴν Ἀγησιστράταν ἔσω*
4 *βαδίζειν. ὡς δὲ εἰσελθοῦσα τόν τε υἱὸν ἐθεάσατο χαμαὶ κείμενον καὶ τὴν μητέρα νεκρὰν ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κρεμαμένην, ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτὴ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις συγκαθεῖλε καὶ παρεκτείνασα τῷ Ἄγιδι τὸ σῶμα περιέστειλε καὶ κατεκάλυψε· τῷ δὲ υἱῷ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ φιλήσασα τὸ πρόσωπον, "Ἡ πολλή σε," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρᾷον*
5 *καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπώλεσε μεθ' ἡμῶν." ὁ δὲ Ἀμφάρης ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ὁρῶν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἀκούων ἐπεισῆλθε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγησιστράταν μετ' ὀργῆς εἶπεν· "Εἰ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "ταὐτὰ ἐδοκίμαζες τῷ υἱῷ, ταὐτὰ καὶ πείσῃ." καὶ ἡ Ἀγησιστράτα πρὸς τὸν βρόχον ἀνιστα-*

"My man," said he, "cease weeping; for even though I am put to death in this lawless and unjust manner, I have the better of my murderers." And saying these words, he offered his neck to the noose without hesitation. But Amphares went to the door of the prison, where Agesistrata fell at his feet in an appeal to his friendship and intimacy. Amphares lifted her up and assured her that Agis was not to suffer violence or death; and he bade her, if she wished, go in to her son. And when Agesistrata begged that her mother might go in with her, Amphares said there was nothing to prevent. So he admitted both the women, and after ordering the door of the prison to be locked again, delivered Archidamia first to the executioners. She was now a very aged woman, and had lived all her days in very high repute among her countrywomen. After she had been put to death, Amphares ordered Agesistrata to enter the chamber of execution. So she went in, and when she saw her son lying dead upon the ground, and her mother's dead body still hanging in the noose, with her own hands she helped the officers to take her down, laid her body out by the side of Agis, and composed and covered it. Then, embracing her son and kissing his face, she said: "My son, it was thy too great regard for others, and thy gentleness and humanity, which has brought thee to ruin, and us as well." Then Amphares, who stood at the door and saw and heard what she did and said, came in and said angrily to her: "If, then, thou hast been of the same mind as thy son, thou shalt also suffer the same fate." And Agesistrata, as she rose to present her neck to the

μένη, "Μόνον," ἔφη, "συνενέγκαι ταῦτα τῇ Σπάρτῃ."

XXI. Τοῦ δὲ πάθους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξαγγελθέντος καὶ τῶν τριῶν σωμάτων ἐκκομιζομένων οὐκ ἦν ὁ φόβος οὕτω μέγας, ὥστε μὴ καταφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀλγοῦντας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, μισοῦντας δὲ τὸν Λεωνίδαν καὶ τὸν Ἀμφάρην, μηδὲν δεινότερον μηδὲ ἀνοσιώτερον ἐξ οὗ Δωριεῖς Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦσιν οἰομένους ἐν Σπάρτῃ πε-
2 πρᾶχθαι. βασιλεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ῥᾳδίως ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπαντῶντες προσέφερον τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο δεδιότες καὶ σεβόμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα. διὸ καὶ πολλῶν γεγονότων Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγώνων πρὸς Ἕλληνας εἷς μόνος ἀνῃρέθη πρὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δόρατι πληγεὶς περὶ Λεῦκτρα Κλεόμβροτος. Μεσσηνίων δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπον ὑπ' Ἀριστομένους πεσεῖν λεγόντων
3 οὔ φασι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πληγῆναι δὲ μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει τινὰς ἀμφιλογίας. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι πρῶτος Ἆγις βασιλεύων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπέθανε, καλὰ μὲν ἔργα καὶ πρέποντα τῇ Σπάρτῃ προελόμενος, ἡλικίας δὲ γεγονὼς ἐν ᾗ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄνθρωποι συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσι, μεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων δικαιότερον ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅτι καὶ Λεωνίδαν περιέσωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίστευσεν, ἡμερώτατος καὶ πρᾳότατος γενόμενος.

noose, said: "My only prayer is that this may bring good to Sparta."

XXI. When tidings of the sad event had been carried to the city and the three bodies were carried forth for burial, the fear felt by the citizens was not so strong as to prevent them from manifesting sorrow over what had been done, and hatred for Leonidas and Amphares. It was thought that nothing more dreadful or heinous had been done in Sparta since the Dorians had dwelt in Peloponnesus. For against a king of the Lacedaemonians, as it seems, not even their enemies would willingly raise their hands if they met him in battle, but they would spare him, out of fear and reverence for his dignity. And for this reason, although there had been many conflicts between Lacedaemonians and other Greeks, only one Spartan king had been slain up to the time of Philip of Macedon, namely, Cleombrotus, who was smitten by a spear at Leuctra.[1] The Messenians, however, say that Theopompus also fell in battle, at the hands of Aristomenes; but the Lacedaemonians deny this, and say that their king was only wounded. This matter may be disputed; but Agis was certainly the first king of Sparta to be put to death by the ephors. And yet he had chosen a line of conduct that was noble and worthy of Sparta, and was of an age in which men are usually pardoned for their errors, and his friends could with more justice blame him than his enemies, because he spared the life of Leonidas, and, most mild and gentle man that he was, put faith in his other foes.

[1] See the *Pelopidas*, xxiii.

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ

I. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν 805
Ἀρχίδαμον οὐκ ἔφθη συλλαβεῖν ὁ Λεωνίδας εὐθὺς ἐκφυγόντα, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα παιδίον ἔχουσαν νεογνὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπαγαγὼν βίᾳ Κλεομένει τῷ υἱῷ συνῴκισεν οὐ πάνυ γάμων ὥραν ἔχοντι, τὴν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἄλλῳ δοθῆναι μὴ βουλόμενος. ἦν γὰρ οὐσίας τε μεγάλης ἐπίκληρος ἡ Ἀγιᾶτις Γυλίππου τοῦ πατρός, ὥρᾳ τε καὶ κάλλει πολὺ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων διαφέρουσα καὶ τὸν τρόπον
2 ἐπιεικής. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν ἐποίησεν, ὥς φασι, μὴ βιασθῆναι δεομένη, συνελθοῦσα δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ Κλεομένει τὸν μὲν Λεωνίδαν ἐμίσει, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον ἦν ἀγαθὴ γυνὴ καὶ φιλόστοργος, ἐρωτικῶς ἅμα τῷ λαβεῖν πρὸς αὐτὴν διατεθέντα καί τινα τρόπον συμπαθοῦντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἆγιν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς γυναικός, ὥστε καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς διηγουμένης ἐκείνης ἣν ὁ Ἆγις ἔσχε διάνοιαν καὶ προαίρεσιν.

3 Ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος μὲν καὶ μεγαλόφρων ὁ Κλεομένης καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀφέλειαν οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ Ἄγιδος εὖ πεφυκώς, τὸ δὲ εὐλαβὲς ἄγαν ἐκεῖνο καὶ πρᾶον οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ κέντρον τι θυμοῦ τῇ φύσει προσέκειτο καὶ μετὰ σφοδρότητος ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀεὶ καλόν. ἐφαίνετο δὲ κάλλιστον μὲν αὐτῷ κρατεῖν ἑκόντων, καλὸν δὲ καὶ μὴ πειθομένων περιεῖναι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐκβιαζόμενον.

CLEOMENES

I. Upon the death of Agis[1] his brother Archidamus at once took to flight, and thus escaped arrest at the hands of Leonidas; but his wife, who had an infant son, was taken from her home by Leonidas and compelled to marry his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was too young for marriage, but Leonidas was unwilling to have Agiatis marry anyone else. For she was heir to the great estate of her father Gylippus, in youthful beauty she far surpassed the other women of Greece, and she had an excellent disposition. Therefore she begged most earnestly, we are told, that she should not be forced into this marriage, but after she was united to Cleomenes, though she hated Leonidas, to the young man himself she was a good and affectionate wife. And he, as soon as Agiatis was his, became passionately fond of her, and in a way sympathized with her devotion to the memory of Agis, so that he would often ask her about the career of Agis, and listen attentively as she told of the plans and purposes which Agis had formed.

And, besides, Cleomenes was aspiring and magnanimous, and no less prone by nature than Agis to self-restraint and simplicity. He had not, however, the scrupulous and gentle nature for which Agis was remarkable, and his natural courage was always goading him on, as it were, and fiercely impelling him towards that which in any case appeared to be the honourable course. He thought it a most excellent thing to rule over willing subjects, but a good thing also to subdue such subjects as were disobedient, and force them towards the better goal.

[1] About 241 B.C.

II. Οὐκ ἤρεσκε μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ ἡδονῇ κατακεκηλημένων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντα τὰ πράγματα χαίρειν ἐῶντος, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐνοχλοίη σχολάζειν ἐν ἀφθόνοις καὶ τρυφᾶν βουλόμενον, ἀμελουμένων δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, κατ' οἰκίαν ἑκάστου πρὸς αὑτὸν ἕλκοντος τὸ κερδαλέον· ἀσκήσεως δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης νέων καὶ καρτερίας καὶ ἰσότητος οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν τούτων τῶν περὶ Ἆγιν ἀπολωλότων μνημονεύειν.

2 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ λόγων φιλοσόφων τὸν Κλεομένη μετασχεῖν ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα, Σφαίρου τοῦ Βορυσθενίτου παραβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ περὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους οὐκ ἀμελῶς διατρίβοντος. ὁ δὲ Σφαῖρος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐγεγόνει τῶν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κιτιέως μαθητῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἔοικε τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἀγαπῆσαί τε καὶ προσεκκαῦσαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν.
3 Λεωνίδαν μὲν γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπερωτηθέντα ποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητὴς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν· "Ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς κακκανῆν." ἐμπιπλάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐνθουσιασμοῦ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἠφείδουν ἑαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ Στωϊκὸς λόγος ἔχει τι πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις καὶ ὀξείας ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ παράβολον, βαθεῖ δὲ καὶ πρᾴῳ κεραννύμενος ἤθει μάλιστα εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Λεωνίδου τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τότε δὴ παντάπασιν ἐκλελυμένους ἑώρα, τῶν μὲν πλουσίων καθ' ἡδονὰς ἰδίας καὶ πλεονεξίας παρο-

II. Of course, then, the condition of the city was not pleasing to him. The citizens had been lulled to sleep by idleness and pleasure; the king was willing to let all public business go, provided that no one thwarted his desire for luxurious living in the midst of his wealth; the public interests were neglected, while every man was eagerly intent upon his own private gain; and as for practice in arms, self-restraint in the young, hardiness, and equality, it was even dangerous to speak of these now that Agis was dead and gone.

It is said also that Cleomenes studied philosophy when he was still a stripling, after Sphaerus of Borysthenis had made a voyage to Sparta and busied himself sedulously there with the youth and young men. Sphaerus had become one of the leading disciples of Zeno of Citium, and it would appear that he admired the manly nature of Cleomenes and increased the fires of his high ambition. For Leonidas of old, as we are told, when asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtaeus to be, replied; "A good one to inflame the souls of young men." And indeed they were filled with divine inspiration by his poems, and in battle were prodigal of their lives. However, for great and impetuous natures the Stoic doctrines are somewhat misleading and dangerous, although when they permeate a deep and gentle character, they redound most to its proper good.

III. But at the death of Leonidas[1] Cleomenes came to the throne, and saw that the citizens were by that time altogether degenerate. The rich neglected the common interests for their own private

[1] In 235 B.C. Cleomenes was then about twenty-four years of age.

ρώντων τὰ κοινά, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν διὰ τὸ πράττειν
κακῶς περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ἀπροθύμων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀφιλοτίμων
γεγονότων, αὐτοῦ δὲ ὄνομα βασιλεύοντος ἦν
2 μόνον, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ πᾶσα τῶν ἐφόρων, εὐθὺς μὲν
εἰς νοῦν ἔθετο τὰ παρόντα μεθιστάναι καὶ κινεῖν,
ὄντος δὲ αὐτῷ φίλου Ξενάρους, ἐραστοῦ γεγονότος
(τοῦτο δὲ ἐμπνεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλοῦσιν),
ἀπεπειρᾶτο τούτου διαπυνθανόμενος τὸν Ἆγιν,
ὁποῖος γένοιτο βασιλεὺς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ μετὰ
τίνων ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ Ξενάρης
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐμέμνητο τῶν πραγ-
μάτων ἐκείνων, ὡς ἐπράχθη καθ' ἕκαστα μυθολο- 806
3 γῶν καὶ διηγούμενος· ὡς δὲ ἦν καταφανὴς ὁ
Κλεομένης ἐμπαθέστερον προσέχων καὶ κινού-
μενος ὑπερφυῶς πρὸς τὴν καινοτομίαν τοῦ Ἄγιδος
καὶ ταὐτὰ πολλάκις ἀκούειν βουλόμενος, ἐπέπλη-
ξεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Ξενάρης ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντι,
καὶ τέλος ἀπέστη τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φοιτᾶν
πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδενὶ μέντοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφρασε τῆς
διαφορᾶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔφη γινώσκειν ἐκεῖνον.
4 Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Ξενάρους ἀντικρούσαντος ὁ Κλεο-
μένης καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἡγούμενος,
αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ συνετίθει τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἰόμενος
δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' εἰρήνην μεταστῆ-
σαι τὰ παρόντα, συνέκρουσε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
τὴν πόλιν, αὐτοὺς διδόντας ἐγκλημάτων προ-
φάσεις. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρατος ἰσχύων μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς μίαν σύνταξιν
ἀγαγεῖν Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν
στρατηγιῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς πολιτείας ἦν

pleasure and aggrandizement; the common people, because of their wretched state at home, had lost all readiness for war and all ambition to maintain the ancient Spartan discipline; and he himself, Cleomenes, was king only in name, while the whole power was in the hands of the ephors. He therefore at once determined to stir up and change the existing order of things, and as he had a friend, Xenares, who had been his lover (or *inspirer*, as the Spartans say), he would make trial of his sentiments by inquiring in detail what sort of a king Agis had been, and in what way and with what assistants he had entered upon the course of action so fatal to him. At first Xenares was quite glad to recall those matters, and rehearsed the events at length and in detail; but when it was apparent that Cleomenes took an unusual interest in the story, and was profoundly stirred by the innovations of Agis, and wished to hear about him over and over again, Xenares rebuked him angrily, calling him unsound in mind, and finally stopped visiting and conversing with him. To no one, however, did he tell the reason of their variance, but merely said that Cleomenes understood it.

And so Cleomenes, finding Xenares averse, and thinking that everybody else was of like mind with him, began to arrange his project all by himself. And because he thought that he could better bring about his reforms in time of war than in the midst of peace, he embroiled the state with the Achaeans, who were themselves giving grounds for complaint. For Aratus, the most powerful man among the Achaeans, was from the outset desirous of bringing all the Peloponnesians into one confederation, and this was the end pursued by him during his many

τέλος, ἡγουμένῳ μόνως ἂν οὕτως ἀνεπιχειρήτους
5 ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκτὸς πολεμίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
σχεδὸν ἁπάντων αὐτῷ προσγεγονότων ἀπελεί-
ποντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ὅσοι Λακε-
δαιμονίοις Ἀρκάδων προσεῖχον, ἅμα τῷ τὸν
Λεωνίδαν ἀποθανεῖν παρηνώχλει τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ
περιέκοπτεν αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
ὁμοροῦντας, ἀποπειρώμενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους ὡς νέου καὶ ἀπείρου κατα-
φρονῶν.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένη πρῶτον οἱ ἔφοροι
πέμπουσι καταληψόμενον τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν
Ἀθήναιον. ἐμβολὴ δὲ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὸ χωρίον
ἐστί, καὶ τότε πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἦν ἐπί-
δικον. καταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τειχίσαντος
τοῦ Κλεομένους ὁ Ἄρατος οὐθὲν ἐγκαλέσας, ἀλλὰ
νυκτὸς ἐκστρατεύσας ἐπεχείρησε Τεγεάταις καὶ
2 Ὀρχομενίοις. τῶν δὲ προδοτῶν ἀποδειλιασάντων
ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ἀνεχώρησε λεληθέναι νομίζων, ὁ
δὲ Κλεομένης εἰρωνείᾳ χρώμενος ἔγραψε πρὸς
αὐτόν, ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλου πυνθανόμενος ποῦ τῆς
νυκτὸς ἐξέλθοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντιγράψαντος ὡς ἐκεῖνον
Βέλβιναν μέλλειν τειχίζειν ἀκούσας καταβαίη
τοῦτο κωλύσων, πάλιν ὁ Κλεομένης ἀποστείλας
τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἔφη πεπεῖσθαι· "τοὺς δὲ
φανοὺς καὶ τὰς κλίμακας," εἶπεν, "εἰ μή τί σοι
διαφέρει, γράψον ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τί σοι παρηκολού-
3 θουν." τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου πρὸς τὸ σκῶμμα γελά-
σαντος καὶ πυνθανομένου ποῖός τις ὁ νεανίσκος
εἴη, Δαμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγάς, "Εἴ
τι πράττεις," ἔφη, "πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα

generalships and his long political activity, since he was of the opinion that in this way alone would they be safe from the attacks of their enemies without. Nearly all the other Peloponnesians adopted his views, but the Lacedaemonians, the Eleians, and the Arcadians who sided with the Lacedaemonians, held aloof. Therefore, as soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to harass the Arcadians, and ravaged the territories of those especially who were adjacent to Achaea. His object was to put the Lacedaemonians to the test, and he despised Cleomenes as a young and inexperienced man.

IV. Upon this, the ephors began operations by sending Cleomenes to occupy the precinct of Athena at Belbina. This commands an entrance into Laconia, and was at that time a subject of litigation with the Megalopolitans. After Cleomenes had occupied and fortified this place, Aratus made no public protest, but led out his forces one night and tried to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. Those who were to betray the places to him, however, played the coward, and Aratus withdrew, thinking that his attempt had escaped notice. But Cleomenes wrote him an ironical letter, inquiring, as from a friend, whither he had marched out in the night. Aratus wrote back that hearing of Cleomenes' intention to fortify Belbina he had gone down there to prevent it. Whereupon Cleomenes sent back word again that he believed this story to be true; "but those torches and ladders," said he, "if it is all one to thee, tell me for what purpose thou hadst them with thee." Aratus burst out laughing at the jest, and inquired what manner of youth this was. Whereupon Damocrates, the Lacedaemonian exile, replied: "If thou hast designs

σοι ταχύνειν πρὸ τοῦ κέντρα φῦσαι τοῦτον τὸν
νεοσσόν."

Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένει μετὰ ἱππέων ὀλίγων καὶ
πεζῶν τριακοσίων ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ στρατοπεδευομένῳ
προσέταξαν ἀναχωρεῖν οἱ ἔφοροι, φοβούμενοι τὸν
4 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ Καφύας
ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἄρατος, αὖθις ἐξέπεμπον τὸν Κλεο-
μένη. λαβόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μεθύδριον καὶ τὴν
Ἀργολικὴν καταδραμόντος, ἐξεστράτευσαν οἱ
Ἀχαιοὶ δισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν
Ἀριστομάχου στρατηγοῦντος. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ
περὶ Παλλάντιον Κλεομένους καὶ βουλομένου
5 μάχεσθαι, φοβηθεὶς τὴν τόλμαν ὁ Ἄρατος οὐκ
εἴασε διακινδυνεῦσαι τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε
λοιδορούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, χλευαζό-
μενος δὲ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων, οὐδὲ πεντακισχιλίων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων.
μέγας οὖν τῷ φρονήματι γεγονὼς ὁ Κλεομένης
ἐθρασύνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν
τινος αὐτοὺς ἀνεμίμνησκε βασιλέων εἰπόντος οὐ
μάτην ὅτι[1] Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυνθάνονται περὶ τῶν
πολεμίων, οὐ πόσοι εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εἰσιν.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἠλείοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βοηθήσας, καὶ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον
ἀπιοῦσιν ἤδη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιβαλών, ἅπαν μὲν 807
ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεπτόησεν αὐτῶν τὸ στράτευμα,
συχνοὺς δὲ ἀνεῖλε καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ
περὶ Ἀράτου φήμην ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ὡς τεθνηκότος, ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ
χρησάμενος ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης εὐθὺς ἐπὶ

[1] εἰπόντος οὐ μάτην ὅτι Sintenis (corr.) and Blass, after Stephanus: εἰπόντος ὅτι μάτην (MSS.).

upon the Lacedaemonians, see that thou hastenest, before this young cock grows his spurs."

After this, when Cleomenes with a few horsemen and three hundred foot-soldiers was making an expedition in Arcadia, the ephors, fearing the issue of the war, ordered him to come back home. After he had returned, however, Aratus seized Caphyae, and the ephors sent Cleomenes forth again. He seized Methydrium and overran the territory of Argolis, whereupon the Achaeans marched out with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen under Aristomachus as general. Cleomenes met them at Pallantium and offered battle, but Aratus, in fear of this boldness, would not suffer his general to hazard the issue, and retired. For this he was reproached by the Achaeans, and jeered at and despised by the Lacedaemonians, who were less than five thousand strong. Cleomenes was therefore greatly lifted up in spirit and began to show a bold front to the citizens; and he would often remind them of one of their ancient kings[1] who said, and not idly either, "The Lacedaemonians are wont to ask, not how many, but where, their enemies are."

V. After this, he went to the aid of the Eleians, upon whom the Achaeans were making war, and falling upon the Achaeans near Mt. Lycaeum, as they were withdrawing, he put their entire army to panic flight, slew great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, so that even Aratus was widely reported among the Greeks to be dead. But Aratus, making the best use of his opportunity, immediately after

[1] Agis II. (427–398 B.C.); cf. the *Morals*, pp. 190 c; 215 d.

Μαντίνειαν ἦλθε καὶ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος
2 εἷλε τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατέσχε, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων παντάπασι ταῖς γνώμαις ἀναπεσόντων καὶ τῷ Κλεομένει πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἐνισταμένων, ὥρμησε μεταπέμπεσθαι τὸν Ἄγιδος ἀδελφὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ᾧ βασιλεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἦν προσῆκον, οἰόμενος ἀμβλυτέραν τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν ἔσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἰσορρόπου
3 καὶ ὁλοκλήρου γενομένης. οἱ δὲ ἀνῃρηκότες πρότερον τὸν Ἆγιν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ δίκην δῶσι τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου κατελθόντος, ἐδέξαντο μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγενόμενον κρύφα καὶ συγκατῆγον, εὐθὺς δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, εἴτε ἄκοντος τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὡς οἴεται Φύλαρχος, εἴτε πεισθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ προεμένου τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῖς. τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἦλθε βεβιάσθαι τὸν Κλεομένη δοκοῦντας.

VI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κινεῖν εὐθὺς ἐγνωκὼς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐφόρους χρήμασιν ὅπως αὐτῷ ψηφίσωνται στρατείαν. ἐθεράπευσε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνοὺς διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Κρατησικλείας ἀφειδῶς συγχορηγούσης καὶ συμφιλοτιμουμένης, ἥ γε καὶ γάμου μὴ δεομένη λέγεται διὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἄνδρα λαβεῖν πρωτεύοντα δόξῃ καὶ
2 δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν καταλαμβάνει τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος χωρίον Λεῦκτρα· καὶ γενομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀξείας τῶν

this defeat marched to Mantineia, and to everybody's surprise captured and held the city. At this the Lacedaemonians were altogether disheartened and opposed any further expedition on the part of Cleomenes. He therefore determined to summon from Messene the brother of Agis, Archidamus,[1] who was the rightful king from the other royal house, thinking that the power of the ephors would be diminished if the royal power were restored to its full strength so as to counterbalance it. But those who had formerly murdered Agis comprehended this design, and fearing that they would pay the penalty for their crime if Archidamus was restored, they did indeed receive him when he came secretly into the city, and assisted in his restoration, but immediately put him to death. Cleomenes may have been opposed to this, as Phylarchus thinks, or perhaps he was persuaded by his friends to abandon the hapless man to his murderers. For the greater part of the blame attached itself to them, since they were thought to have constrained Cleomenes.

VI. However, having determined to attempt at once his reforms in the state, Cleomenes bribed the ephors to send him on an expedition. He also won the favour of large numbers of the citizens with the help of his mother Cratesicleia, who assisted him liberally in providing ways and means, and shared his ambitions. It is even said that although she had no desire to marry again, for the sake of her son she took a husband who was foremost among the citizens in reputation and influence. So Cleomenes led forth his forces and occupied Leuctra, a stronghold of Megalopolis. The Achaeans, under the command of

[1] See chapter i. 1.

Ἀχαιῶν βοηθείας Ἀράτου στρατηγοῦντος, ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν παραταξάμενος ἡττήθη μέρει τινὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαράδραν τινὰ βαθεῖαν οὐκ εἴασε διαβῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὁ
3 Ἄρατος, ἀλλ' ἐπέστησε τὴν δίωξιν, ἀγανακτῶν δὲ Λυδιάδας ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης συνεξώρμησε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ διώκων εἰς χωρίον ἀμπέλων καὶ τάφρων καὶ τειχῶν μεστὸν ἐνσείσας καὶ διασπασθεὶς περὶ ταῦτα κακῶς ἀπήλλαττε, κατιδὼν ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνῆκε τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ τοὺς Κρῆτας ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Λυδιάδας ἀμυνόμενος εὐρώστως ἔπεσε. πρὸς τοῦτο θαρρήσαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ βοῆς ἐνέβαλον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, καὶ τροπὴν ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐποίησαν.
4 ἀποθανόντων δὲ συχνῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑποσπόνδους ὁ Κλεομένης ἀπέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Λυδιάδαν νεκρὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύσας, κοσμήσας πορφυρίδι καὶ στέφανον ἐπιθείς, πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἀπέστειλεν. οὗτος ἦν Λυδιάδας ὁ καταθέμενος τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδοὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσκομίσας Ἀχαιοῖς.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένης μέγα φρονῶν ἤδη, καὶ πεπεισμένος ἂν ὡς βούλεται τοῖς πράγμασι χρώμενος πολεμῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ῥᾳδίως ἐπικρατήσειν, ἐδίδασκε τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἄνδρα Μεγιστόνουν ὡς χρὴ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰς μέσον θεῖναι τὰ κτήματα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἴσην γενομένην ἐγείρειν καὶ προάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν. πεισθέντος δ' ἐκείνου δύο τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἢ τρεῖς προσέλαβε.

Aratus, came swiftly to the aid of their allies against him, and Cleomenes, after drawing up his forces under the very walls of the city, was worsted at one point. But Aratus would not permit the Achaeans to cross a certain deep ravine, and brought his pursuit to a stop. Lydiadas the Megalopolitan, however, chafing at this, dashed on with the horsemen under his command, and pursuing the enemy into a place full of vines, ditches, and walls, had his ranks broken and thrown into disorder thereby, and began to fall into difficulties. Cleomenes, observing this, sent against him his Tarentines and Cretans, at whose hands Lydiadas, defending himself sturdily, fell. At this the Lacedaemonians took courage and with a shout fell upon the Achaeans and routed their entire army. Great numbers of them were slain, and their bodies Cleomenes restored at the enemy's request; but the body of Lydiadas he asked to have brought to him, arrayed it in a purple robe and put a crown upon the head, and then sent it back to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lydiadas who renounced the tyranny, gave back to the citizens their freedom, and attached the city to the Achaean league.

VII. After this, Cleomenes, being now greatly elated, and persuaded that if he could keep the control of things entirely in his own hands during the war with the Achaeans, he would easily obtain the mastery, began to instruct his mother's husband, Megistonoüs, that they must needs get rid of the ephors, put the property of the citizens into a common stock, and rouse and incite the Spartans, thus put upon their old footing of equality, to assume the supremacy in Greece. Megistonoüs was convinced, and enlisted in the cause two or three of his friends besides.

2 Συνέβη δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καὶ τῶν
ἐφόρων ἕνα κοιμώμενον ἐν Πασιφάας ὄναρ ἰδεῖν
θαυμαστόν· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τοῖς ἐφόροις
ἔθος ἐστὶ καθεζομένοις χρηματίζειν ἕνα δίφρον
κεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τέτταρας ἀνῃρῆσθαι, καὶ θαυμά-
ζοντος αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γενέσθαι φρά-
3 ζουσαν ὡς τοῦτο τῇ Σπάρτῃ λῷόν ἐστι. ταύτην
τὴν ὄψιν διηγουμένου τοῦ ἐφόρου πρὸς τὸν Κλεο- 808
μένη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διεταράχθη καθ' ὑποψίαν
τινὰ πειράζεσθαι δοκῶν, ὡς δὲ ἐπείσθη μὴ ψεύ-
δεσθαι τὸν διηγούμενον, ἐθάρρησε. καὶ λαβὼν
ὅσους ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐναντιώ-
σεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, Ἡραίαν καὶ Ἀλσαίαν
τὰς πόλεις ταττομένας ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εἷλε,
καὶ σῖτον εἰσήγαγεν Ὀρχομενίοις, καὶ Μαντινείᾳ
4 παρεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ ὅλως ἄνω καὶ κάτω
μακραῖς πορείαις ἀποτρύσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
ἀπέλιπεν αὐτῶν δεηθέντων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν
Ἀρκαδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
τὴν Σπάρτην ἐχώρει. καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν οἷς ἐπίστευε
μάλιστα καλῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀνεκοινοῦτο τὴν
γνώμην, καὶ προῄει σχέδην, ὡς περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον
οὖσι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιπέσοι.

VIII. Γενόμενος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγύς, Εὐρυκλείδαν μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων συσσίτιον ἀπέστειλεν ὥς τινα παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς κομίζοντα, Θηρυκίων δὲ καὶ Φοῖβις καὶ δύο τῶν συντρόφων τοῦ Κλεομένους, οὓς μόθακας καλοῦσιν, ἐπηκολούθουν στρατιώτας ὀλίγους ἔχοντες.

Now, it came to pass about that time that one of the ephors, who was sleeping in the precinct of Pasiphaë, had an astonishing dream. He dreamed that in the place where the ephors were wont to sit for the prosecution of business, one chair only stood, but the other four had been taken away; and that in his amazement at this a voice came to him from the temple saying that this was better for Sparta. This dream the ephor related to Cleomenes, who at first was much disturbed, and thought that the other had some suspicion of his design and was making trial of him; but when he was convinced that the relater spoke the truth, his courage revived. So taking all the citizens who, as he suspected, would be most opposed to his designs, he seized Heraea and Alsaea, two cities belonging to the Achaean league, introduced supplies of food into Orchomenus, and encamped by Mantineia, from whence he made long marches up and down the land, and utterly wore out the Lacedaemonians, so that it was at their own request that he left most of them in Arcadia, while with his mercenaries he himself set out for Sparta. On the march he imparted his design to those whom he believed to be most favourably disposed to him, and went forward slowly, that he might fall upon the ephors while they were at supper.

VIII. When the city was close at hand, he sent Eurycleidas to the mess-table of the ephors, ostensibly to carry some message of the king from the army; but Therycion, Phoebis, and two of the Helots, who had been bred up along with Cleomenes[1] (they call them "mothakes"), followed after with a few

[1] Such Helot companions afterwards became freemen, and sometimes even citizens in Sparta.

ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Εὐρυκλείδα διαλεγομένου τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιδραμόντες ἐσπασμέναις ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔπαιον
2 αὐτούς. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος Ἀγύλαιος, ὡς ἐπλήγη, πεσὼν καὶ τεθνάναι δόξας ἀτρέμα συναγαγὼν καὶ παρέλκων ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔλαθεν εἴς τι δωμάτιον εἰσερπύσας μικρόν, ὃ φόβου μὲν ἦν ἱερόν, ἄλλως δὲ κεκλεισμένον ἀεί, τότε ἐκ τύχης ἀνεῳγμένον ἐτύγχανεν. εἰς τοῦτο συνεισενεγκὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκλεισε τὸ θύριον. οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἀνῃρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιβοηθούντων αὐτοῖς οὐ πλείονες ἢ δέκα. τοὺς γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας οὐκ ἔκτειναν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπιόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκώλυον. ἐφείσαντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγυλαίου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθόντος.

IX. Ἔστι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐ φόβου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θανάτου καὶ γέλωτος καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων παθημάτων ἱερά. τιμῶσι δὲ τὸν φόβον οὐχ ὥσπερ οὓς ἀποτρέπονται δαίμονας, ἡγούμενοι βλαβερόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν μάλιστα συνέ-
2 χεσθαι φόβῳ νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ προεκήρυττον οἱ ἔφοροι τοῖς πολίταις εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις, ἵνα μὴ χαλεποὶ ὦσιν αὐτοῖς· τὸ τοῦ μύστακος, οἶμαι, προτείνοντες, ὅπως καὶ περὶ τὰ μικρότατα τοὺς νέους πειθαρχεῖν
3 ἐθίζωσι. καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφοβίαν, ἀλλὰ φόβον ψόγου καὶ δέος ἀδοξίας οἱ παλαιοὶ νομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δειλότατοι πρὸς τοὺς νόμους θαρραλεώτατοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσί·

soldiers. These men, while Eurycleidas was still making his report to the ephors, ran in upon them with drawn swords and smote them. The first of them, Agylaeus, on receiving the blow, fell and lay still as though dead; but afterwards he quietly pulled himself together, dragged himself out of the room, and crept unobserved into a little building which was a temple of Fear. Usually it was closed, but at this time it chanced to be open. Into this building he betook himself and locked the door. But the other four were slain, and also about ten of those who came to their aid. For the people who kept quiet were not killed, nor were those who wished to leave the city prevented. And even Agylaeus was spared when he came out of the temple next day.

IX. Now, the Lacedaemonians have temples of Death, Laughter, and that sort of thing, as well as of Fear. And they pay honours to Fear, not as they do to the powers which they try to avert because they think them baleful, but because they believe that fear is the chief support of their civil polity. For this reason, too, when the ephors enter upon their office, as Aristotle says, they issue a proclamation commanding all men to shave their moustaches, and to obey the laws, that these may not be severe upon them. They insist upon the shaving of the moustache, I think, in order that they may accustom the young men to obedience in the most trifling matters. And the men of old, in my opinion, did not regard bravery as a lack of fear, but as fear of reproach and dread of disgrace. For the men who feel most dread of the laws have most courage in

καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἥκιστα δεδίασιν οἱ μάλιστα φοβού-
4 *μενοι τὸ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι. διὸ καὶ καλῶς ὁ εἰπών·*

. . . *ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς.*

καὶ Ὅμηρος,

αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι, φίλε ἑκυρέ, δεινός τε·

καί

σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας.

τὸ γὰρ αἰσχύνεσθαι μάλιστα συμβαίνει πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ δεδοικέναι τοῖς πολλοῖς. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων συσσίτιον τὸν φόβον ἵδρυνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μοναρχίας ἐγγυτάτω κατασκευασάμενοι τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

X. Ὁ δ' *οὖν* Κλεομένης *ἡμέρας γενομένης*
προέγραψεν ὀγδοήκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν οὓς ἔδει
μεταστῆναι, καὶ τοὺς δίφρους ἀνεῖλε τῶν ἐφόρων
πλὴν ἑνός, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς χρη-
ματίζειν. ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσας ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ
τῶν πεπραγμένων. ἔφη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου
τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συμμιχθῆναι τοὺς γέροντας, καὶ
πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω διοικεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν
2 *ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς δεομένην, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ πρὸς*
Μεσσηνίους *πολέμου μακροῦ γενομένου τοὺς βα-*
σιλεῖς, διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀσχόλους ὄντας αὐτοὺς
πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν, αἱρεῖσθαί τινας ἐκ τῶν φίλων
καὶ ἀπολείπειν τοῖς πολίταις ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐφόρους 809
προσαγορευθέντας, καὶ διατελεῖν γε τούτους τὸ

facing their enemies; and those shun death least who most fear ill fame. Therefore it has been well said[1]:

> ". . . for where dread is, there also is reverence."

And Homer says[2]:

> "Revered art thou by me, dear father-in-law, and dreaded too;"

and

> "Without a word, in dread of their leaders.[3]"

For by the multitude reverence is most apt to be felt towards those whom they also fear. For this reason, too, the Lacedaemonians erected a temple to Fear alongside the mess-hall of the ephors, after they had endowed this magistracy with almost absolute powers.

X. And now to resume; Cleomenes, when day came, published a list of eighty citizens who must go into exile, and removed all the ephoral chairs except one; in this he purposed to sit himself for the transaction of public business. Then he called a general assembly and made a defence of his proceedings. He said that Lycurgus had blended the powers of senate and kings, and that for a long time the state was administered in this way and had no need of other officials. But later, when the Messenian war proved to be long, the kings, since their campaigns abroad left them no time to administer justice themselves, chose out some of their friends and left them behind to serve the citizens in their stead. These were called ephors, or *guardians*, and as a matter of fact they

[1] By Stasinus of Cyprus. Cf. Plato, *Euthyphro*, 12 a; Kinkel, *Ep. Graec. Frag.* i. p. 30.
[2] *Iliad*, iii. 172, Helen to Priam.
[3] *Iliad*, iv. 431, of the Achaeans marshalled for battle.

πρῶτον ὑπηρέτας τῶν βασιλέων ὄντας, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιστρέφοντας οὕτως λαθεῖν ἴδιον ἀρχεῖον κατασκευασαμένους.
3 σημεῖον δὲ τούτου τὸ μέχρι νῦν μεταπεμπομένων τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρῶτον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον καλούντων ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπισφοδρύναντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀνατεινάμενον Ἀστερωπὸν ἡλικίαις ὕστερον πολλαῖς ἔφορον γενέσθαι. μετριάζοντας μὲν οὖν αὐτούς, ἔφη, κρεῖττον ἦν ὑπομένειν, ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ ἐπιθέτῳ τὴν πάτριον καταλύοντας ἀρχήν, ὥστε τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτιννύειν ἀκρίτους, ἀπειλεῖν δὲ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν αὖθις ἐπιδεῖν τὴν καλλίστην καὶ θειοτάτην ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατάστασιν,
4 οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὸν ἦν ἄνευ σφαγῆς ἀπαλλάξαι τὰς ἐπεισάκτους τῆς Λακεδαίμονος κῆρας, τρυφὰς καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ χρέα καὶ δανεισμοὺς καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τούτων κακά, πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον, εὐτυχέστατον ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι πάντων βασιλέων ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἰατρὸν ἀνωδύνως ἰασάμενον τὴν πατρίδα· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔχειν συγγνώμονα τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὃς οὔτε βασιλεὺς ὢν οὔτε ἄρχων, ἰδιώτης δὲ βασιλεύειν ἐπιχειρῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὥστε δείσαντα τὸν βασιλέα Χάριλλον ἐπὶ βωμὸν καταφυγεῖν.
5 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὄντα χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόπατριν ταχὺ τῷ Λυκούργῳ τῶν πραττομένων μετασχεῖν

continued at first to be assistants of the kings, but then gradually diverted the power into their own hands, and so, ere men were aware, established a magistracy of their own. As proof of this, Cleomenes cited the fact that down to that day, when the ephors summoned a king to appear before them, he refused to go at the first summons, and at the second, but at the third rose up and went to them; and he said that the one who first added weight to the office, and extended its powers, Asteropus, was ephor many generations later. As long, then, he said, as the ephors kept within bounds, it had been better to bear with them; but when with their assumed power they subverted the ancient form of government to such an extent as to drive away some kings, put others to death without trial, and threaten such as desired to behold again in Sparta her fairest and most divinely appointed constitution, it was not to be endured. If, then, it had been possible without bloodshed to rid Sparta of her imported curses, namely luxury and extravagance, and debts and usury, and those elder evils than these, namely, poverty and wealth, he would have thought himself the most fortunate king in the world to have cured the disease of his country like a wise physician, without pain; but as it was, he said, in support of the necessity that had been laid upon him, he could cite Lycurgus, who, though he was neither king nor magistrate, but a private person attempting to act as king, proceeded with an armed retinue into the market-place, so that Charillus the king took fright and fled for refuge to an altar. That king, however, Cleomenes said, since he was an excellent man and a lover of his country, speedily concurred in the measures of Lycurgus and accepted

καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν δέξασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἔργῳ δὲ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ὅτι πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν ἄνευ βίας καὶ φόβου χαλεπόν ἐστιν, οἷς αὐτὸν ἔφη μετριώτατα κεχρῆσθαι, τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐκποδὼν
6 ποιησάμενον. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἔφη πᾶσι τήν τε γῆν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον τιθέναι, καὶ χρεῶν τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἀπαλλάττειν, καὶ τῶν ξένων κρίσιν ποιεῖν καὶ δοκιμασίαν, ὅπως οἱ κράτιστοι γενόμενοι Σπαρτιᾶται σώζωσι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ παυσώμεθα τὴν Λακωνικὴν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν λείαν οὖσαν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνόντων ἐφορῶντες.

XI. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς εἰς μέσον τὴν οὐσίαν ἔθηκε καὶ Μεγιστόνους ὁ πατρῷος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἕκαστος, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πολῖται πάντες, ἡ δὲ χώρα διενεμήθη. κλῆρον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων φυγάδων ἀπένειμεν ἑκάστῳ, καὶ κατάξειν ἅπαντας ὡμολόγησε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γενομένων.
2 ἀναπληρώσας δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα τοῖς χαριεστάτοις τῶν περιοίκων ὁπλίτας τετρακισχιλίους ἐποίησε, καὶ διδάξας αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ δόρατος χρῆσθαι σαρίσῃ δι' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα φορεῖν δι' ὀχάνης, μὴ διὰ πόρπακος, ἐπὶ τὴν παιδείαν τῶν νέων ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγήν, ἧς τὰ πλεῖστα παρὼν ὁ Σφαῖρος αὐτῷ συγκαθίστη, ταχὺ τὸν προσήκοντα τῶν τε γυμνασίων καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων κόσμον ἀναλαμβανόντων, καὶ συστελλο-

the change of constitution; still, as a matter of fact Lycurgus by his own acts bore witness to the difficulty of changing a constitution without violence and fear. To these, Cleomenes said, he had himself resorted with the greatest moderation, for he had but put out of the way the men who were opposed to the salvation of Sparta. For all the rest, he said, the whole land should be common property, debtors should be set free from their debts, and foreigners should be examined and rated, in order that the strongest of them might be made Spartan citizens and help to preserve the state by their arms. "In this way," he said, "we shall cease to behold Sparta the booty of Aetolians and Illyrians through lack of men to defend her."

XI. After this, to begin with, Cleomenes himself placed his property in the common stock, as did Megistonoüs his step-father and every one of his friends besides; next, all the rest of the citizens did the same, and the land was parcelled out. Cleomenes also assigned a portion of land to each man who had been exiled by him, and promised to bring them all home after matters had become quiet. Then he filled up the body of citizens with the most promising of the free provincials, and thus raised a body of four thousand men-at-arms, whom he taught to use a long pike, held in both hands, instead of a short spear, and to carry their shields by a strap instead of by a fixed handle. Next he devoted himself to the training of the young men and to the "agoge," or ancient discipline, most of the details of which Sphaerus, who was then in Sparta, helped him in arranging. And quickly was the proper system of bodily training and public messes resumed, a few out

μένων ὀλίγων μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἑκουσίως δὲ τῶν πλείστων εἰς τὴν εὐτελῆ καὶ Λακωνικὴν ἐκείνην
3 δίαιταν. ὅμως δὲ τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας ὄνομα παραμυθούμενος ἀπέδειξε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐκλείδαν. καὶ τότε μόνον Σπαρτιάταις ἐκ μιᾶς οἰκίας συνέβη δύο σχεῖν βασιλέας.

XII. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, ὡς ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων διὰ τὸν νεωτερισμόν, οὐκ ἂν οἰομένους προελθεῖν ἔξω τῆς Λακεδαίμονος οὐδὲ ἀπολιπεῖν μετέωρον ἐν κινήματι τηλικούτῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲ ἄχρηστον ἡγήσατο τὴν προθυμίαν
2 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐμβαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν Μεγαλοπολιτικὴν ὠφελείας τε μεγάλας ἤθροισε καὶ φθορὰν πολλὴν ἀπειργάσατο τῆς χώρας. τέλος δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον 810
τεχνίτας ἐκ Μεσσήνης διαπορευομένους λαβών, καὶ πηξάμενος θέατρον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, καὶ προθεὶς ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα μνῶν ἀγῶνα, μίαν ἡμέραν ἐθεᾶτο καθήμενος, οὐ δεόμενος θέας, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐντρυφῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περιουσίαν τινὰ τοῦ κρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἐπιδεικνύμενος.
3 ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν στρατευμάτων ἐκεῖνο μόνον οὐ μίμους παρακολουθοῦντας εἶχεν, οὐ θαυματοποιούς, οὐκ ὀρχηστρίδας, οὐ ψαλτρίας, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἀκολασίας καὶ βωμολοχίας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ καθαρὸν ἦν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μελετώντων τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων διδασκόντων, τὰς δὲ παιδιάς, ὁπότε σχολάζοιεν, ταῖς συνήθεσιν εὐτραπελίαις καὶ τῷ λέγειν τι χάριεν καὶ Λακωνικὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους

of necessity, but most with a willing spirit, subjecting themselves to the old Spartan regime with all its simplicity. And yet, desiring to give the name of absolute power a less offensive sound, he associated with himself in royal power his brother Eucleidas. And this was the only time when the Spartans had two kings from the same house.

XII. Learning that Aratus and the Achaeans believed that this revolution had jeopardized his position, and therefore did not think that he would venture forth outside of Sparta, or leave the city while it was still in the suspense of so great an agitation, he thought it a fine and helpful thing to make a display of the ready zeal of his army to his enemies. Accordingly, he invaded the territory of Megalopolis, collected large booty, and devastated the country far and wide. And finally arresting a company of actors who were passing through the country from Messené, he built a theatre in the enemy's territory, instituted a contest for a prize of forty minae, and sat spectator for a whole day; not that he felt the need of a spectacle, but in exultant mockery, as it were, of his enemies, and to show to the world by his contempt for them that he held complete control of affairs, with something, as it were, to spare. For at other times, the Spartan alone of Greek or Macedonian armies had no players in attendance, no jugglers, no dancing-girls, no harpists, but was free from every kind of licence, scurrility, and general festivity; while for the most part the young men practised themselves and the elder men taught them, and for amusement, when their work was over, they had recourse to their wonted pleasantries and the interchange of Spartan

διατιθεμένων. ἣν δὲ ἔχει τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς παιδιᾶς εἶδος ὠφέλειαν, ἐν τῷ Λυκούργου βίῳ γέγραπται.

XIII. Πάντων δ' αὐτὸς ἐγίγνετο διδάσκαλος, εὐτελῆ καὶ ἀφελῆ καὶ φορτικὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχοντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὥσπερ παράδειγμα σωφροσύνης ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος· ὃ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ῥοπήν τινα παρέσχεν αὐτῷ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἐντυγχάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεῦσιν οὐχ οὕτω κατεπλήττοντο τοὺς πλούτους καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας, ὡς ἐβδελύττοντο τὴν ὑπεροψίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἐπαχθῶς καὶ τραχέως προσφερομένων τοῖς ἐν-
2 τυγχάνουσι· πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένη βαδίζοντες, ὄντα τε δὴ βασιλέα καὶ καλούμενον, εἶτα ὁρῶντες οὐ πορφύρας τινὰς οὐ χλαίνας περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ κλινιδίων καὶ φορείων κατασκευάς, οὐδ' ὑπ' ἀγγέλων ὄχλου καὶ θυρωρῶν ἢ διὰ γραμματείων χρηματίζοντα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἱματίῳ τῷ τυχόντι πρὸς τὰς δεξιώσεις ἀπαντῶντα καὶ διαλεγόμενον καὶ σχολάζοντα τοῖς χρῄζουσιν ἱλαρῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως, ἐκηλοῦντο καὶ κατεδημαγωγοῦντο, καὶ μόνον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐκεῖνον ἔφασαν γεγονέναι.

3 Τῶν δὲ δείπνων αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν καθημερινὸν ἦν ἐν τρικλίνῳ σφόδρα συνεσταλμένον καὶ Λακωνικόν, εἰ δὲ πρέσβεις ἢ ξένους δέχοιτο, δύο μὲν ἄλλαι προσπαρεβάλλοντο κλίναι, μικρῷ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ ὑπηρέται τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπελάμπρυνον, οὐ καρυκείαις τισὶν οὐδὲ πέμμασιν, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀφθονωτέρας εἶναι τὰς παραθέσεις καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον τὸν οἶνον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπετίμησέ τινα τῶν

witticisms. Of what great advantage this sort of amusement is, I have told in my Life of Lycurgus.[1]

XIII. In all these matters Cleomenes was himself a teacher. His own manner of life was simple, plain, and no more pretentious than that of the common man, and it was a pattern of self-restraint for all. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with the other Greeks. For when men had to do with the other kings, they were not so much awed by their wealth and extravagance as they were filled with loathing for their haughtiness and pomp as they gave offensive and harsh answers to their auditors; but when men came to Cleomenes, who was a real as well as a titled king, and then saw no profusion of purple robes or shawls about him, and no array of couches and litters; when they saw, too, that he did not make the work of his petitioners grievous and slow by employing a throng of messengers and door-keepers or by requiring written memorials, but came in person, just as he happened to be dressed, to answer the salutations of his visitors, conversing at length with those who needed his services and devoting time cheerfully and kindly to them, they were charmed and completely won over, and declared that he alone was a descendant of Heracles.

His usual supper was held in a room which had only three couches, and was very circumscribed and Spartan; but if he was entertaining ambassadors or guest-friends, two more couches would be brought in, and the servants would make the table a trifle more brilliant, not with sauces or sweetmeats, but with more generous dishes and a kindlier wine. And indeed he censured one of his friends, when he heard

[1] Chapter xii.

φίλων ἀκούσας ὅτι ξένους ἑστιῶν ζωμὸν αὐτοῖς μέλανα καὶ μάζαν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, παρέθηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν ἐν τούτοις οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους λίαν ἀκριβῶς λακωνίζειν.

4 ἀπαρθείσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης εἰσεκομίζετο τρίπους κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν ἔχων οἴνου μεστὸν καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς δικοτύλους δύο καὶ ποτήρια τῶν ἀργυρῶν ὀλίγα παντάπασιν, ἐξ ὧν ἔπινεν ὁ βουλόμενος, ἄκοντι δὲ οὐδεὶς ποτήριον προσέφερεν. ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὔτ' ἦν οὔτ' ἐπεζητεῖτο· ἐπαιδαγώγει γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁμιλίᾳ τὸν πότον, τὰ μὲν ἐρωτῶν, τὰ δὲ διηγούμενος, οὔτε τὴν σπουδὴν ἀηδῆ τῶν λόγων τήν τε παιδιὰν ἐπίχαριν καὶ ἀσόλοικον

5 ἐχόντων. ἃς μὲν γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θήρας ἐποιοῦντο, χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς δελεάζοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἀτέχνους καὶ ἀδίκους ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ λόγῳ χάριν ἔχοντι καὶ πίστιν οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ προσάγεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐφαίνετο κάλλιστον αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλικώτατον, ὡς οὐδενὶ φίλου διαφέροντα μισθωτὸν ἢ τῷ τὸν μὲν ἤθει καὶ λόγῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἁλίσκεσθαι.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐτὸν ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεισπεσόντι 811
τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν συνεκβαλόντες ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Τεγέαν. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐκπεριελθὼν δι' Ἀρκαδίας κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχαϊκὰς Φεράς,

that in entertaining guest-friends he had set before them the black soup and barley-bread of the public mess-tables; "for," said he, "in these matters and before foreigners we must not be too strictly Spartan." After the table had been removed, a tripod would be brought in on which were a bronze mixer full of wine, two silver bowls holding a pint apiece, and drinking cups of silver, few all told, from which he who wished might drink; but no one had a cup forced upon him. Music there was none, nor was any such addition desired; for Cleomenes entertained the company hinself by his conversation, now asking questions, now telling stories, and his discourse was not unpleasantly serious, but had a sportiveness that charmed and was free from rudeness. For the hunt which all the other kings made for men, ensnaring them with gifts and bribes and corrupting them, Cleomenes considered unskilful and unjust. In his eyes it was the noblest method, and one most fit for a king, to win over his visitors and attach them to himself by an intercourse and conversation which awakened pleasure and confidence. For he felt that a hireling differed from a friend in nothing except that the one was captured by a man's character and conversation, the other by a man's money.

XIV. To begin with, then, the Mantineians invited him to help them, and after he had made his way into the city by night, they expelled the Achaean garrison and put themselves in his hands. Cleomenes restored to them their laws and constitution, and on the same day marched away to Tegea. Then, shortly afterwards, he fetched a compass through Arcadia and marched down upon the Achaean city of Pherae. His

βουλόμενος ἢ μάχην θέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἢ διαβάλλειν τὸν Ἄρατον ὡς ἀποδιδράσκοντα καὶ προϊέμενον αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν. ἐστρατήγει μὲν γὰρ Ὑπερβατᾶς τότε, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου τὸ πᾶν ἦν
2 κράτος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἐξελθόντων δὲ πανδημεὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένων ἐν Δύμαις περὶ τὸ Ἑκατόμβαιον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κλεομένης ἔδοξε μὲν οὐ καλῶς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Δυμαίων πόλεως, πολεμίας οὔσης, καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αὐλίσασθαι, τολμηρῶς δὲ προκαλούμενος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἠνάγκασε συμβαλεῖν, καὶ νικήσας κατὰ κράτος καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν φάλαγγα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ζώντων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ Λάγγωνι καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἐξελάσας ἀπέδωκεν Ἠλείοις τὴν πόλιν.

XV. Οὕτω δὲ συντετριμμένοις τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος, εἰωθὼς παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγεῖν, ἀπείπατο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρῃτήσατο καλούντων καὶ δεομένων· οὐ καλῶς, οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι πραγμάτων μείζονι, μεθεὶς ἑτέρῳ τὸν οἴακα καὶ προέμενος τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρῶτον μὲν μέτρια τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδόκει πρέσβεσιν ἐπιτάττειν, ἑτέρους δὲ πέμπων ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὡς τἆλλα μὴ διοισόμενος πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
2 εὐθὺς ἀποδώσων καὶ τὰ χωρία. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὸν Κλεομένη καλούντων εἰς Λέρναν, ὅπου

desire was either to fight a battle with the Achaeans, or to bring Aratus into disrepute for running away and abandoning the country to him. For although Hyperbatas was general at that time, Aratus had the entire power in the Achaean league. Moreover, after the Achaeans had marched out with all their forces and pitched their camp at Dymae, near the Hecatombaeum, Cleomenes came up against them. He did not think it well, however, to pitch his own camp between the city of Dymae, which was hostile, and the army of the Achaeans, and therefore boldly challenged the Achaeans and forced them to engage. He was completely victorious, routed their phalanx, slew many of them in the battle, and took many prisoners also. Then he went up against Langon, drove out the Achaean garrison, and restored the city to the Eleians.

XV. The Achaeans having been thus utterly overwhelmed, Aratus, who was wont to be their general every other year, refused the office and declined to listen to their invitations and prayers; thus unwisely, when the ship of state was in a heavy storm, handing over the helm to another and abandoning the post of authority. Cleomenes, on the other hand, at the first was thought to impose moderate terms upon the Achaean embassy, but afterwards he sent other envoys and bade them hand over to him the leadership among the Greeks, assuring them that on other points he would not quarrel with them, but would at once restore to them their captives and their strongholds.[1] The Achaeans were willing to settle matters on these terms, and invited Cleomenes to come to Lerna,

[1] Cf. the *Aratus*, xxxviii. 5 f.

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔμελλον ἔχειν, ἔτυχε τὸν Κλεομένη συντόνως ὁδεύσαντα καὶ χρησάμενον παρὰ καιρὸν ὑδροποσίᾳ αἵματος πλῆθος ἀνενεγκεῖν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀποκοπῆναι. διὸ τῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπέπεμψε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, τὸν δὲ σύλλογον ὑπερθέμενος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.

XVI. Τοῦτο διελυμήνατο τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἁμῶς γέ πως ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλαβεῖν αὑτὴν ἔτι καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὴν Μακεδόνων ὕβριν καὶ πλεονεξίαν δυναμένης. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρατος, εἴτε ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Κλεομένους, εἴτε φθονῶν εὐτυχοῦντι παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ νομίζων ἔτη τρία καὶ τριάκοντα πρωτεύοντος αὐτοῦ δεινὸν εἶναι τὴν δόξαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφύντα
2 νέον ἄνδρα καθελεῖν, καὶ παραλαβεῖν πραγμάτων ηὐξημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἀρχήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς παραβιάζεσθαι καὶ διακωλύειν· ὡς δὲ οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐκπεπληγμένοι τὸ θράσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαίαν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰς τὸ πάτριον
3 σχῆμα κοσμούντων τὴν Πελοπόννησον, τρέπεται πρὸς ἔργον οὐδενὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσῆκον, αἴσχιστον δ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπολιτευμένων ἀναξιώτατον, Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καλεῖν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐμπιπλάναι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, οὓς αὐτὸς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μειράκιον ὢν ἐξήλασεν ἐλευθερώσας τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὕποπτος καὶ διάφορος γενόμενος, τουτονὶ

where they were about to hold their assembly. But it fell out that Cleomenes, who had made a strenuous march and then too soon had drunk water, brought up a great quantity of blood and lost his speech. For this reason he sent back to the Achaeans the most prominent men among their captives, but postponed the conference and went back home to Sparta.

XVI. This ruined the cause of Greece, at a time when she was still able in some way or other to recover from her grievous plight and escape Macedonian greed and insolence. For Aratus (whether it was through distrust and fear of Cleomenes, or because he envied the king his unlooked for success, and thought it a terrible thing after three and thirty years of leadership to have his own fame and power stripped from him by an upstart of a young man, and the authority taken over in a cause which he himself had built up and controlled for so long a time), in the first place tried to force the Achaeans aside and hinder their purpose; but when they paid no heed to him in their consternation at the daring spirit of Cleomenes, but actually saw justice in the demands of the Lacedaemonians, who were seeking to restore the Peloponnesus to its ancient status, Aratus took a step which would have been unmeet for any Greek to take, but was most shameful for him and most unworthy of his career as soldier and statesman. For he invited Antigonus into Greece and filled the Peloponnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself had driven out of Peloponnesus when, as a young man, he delivered Acrocorinthus from their power[1] —he who had incurred the suspicion and hostility of all the reigning kings, and of this very Antigonus had

[1] See the *Aratus*, xvi. ff.

δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰρηκὼς κακὰ μυρία δι' ὧν
4 ἀπολέλοιπεν ὑπομνημάτων. καίτοι πολλὰ παθεῖν
καὶ παραβαλέσθαι φησὶν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων,
ὅπως ἡ πόλις ἀπαλλαγείη φρουρᾶς καὶ Μακεδόνων·
εἶτα τούτους ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἑστίαν τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ μεθ' ὅπλων εἰσήγαγεν ἄχρι τῆς γυναικωνί-
τιδος· τὸν δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονότα καὶ βασι- 812
λεύοντα Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν,
ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐκλελυμένην, ἀνακρουόμενον αὖθις
ἐπὶ τὸν σώφρονα καὶ Δώριον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ Λυκούρ-
γου νόμον καὶ βίον, οὐκ ἠξίου Σικυωνίων ἡγεμόνα
5 καὶ Τριταιέων γράφεσθαι, φεύγων δὲ τὴν μάζαν
καὶ τὸν τρίβωνα, καὶ τὸ δεινότατον ὧν κατηγόρει
Κλεομένους, ἀναίρεσιν πλούτου καὶ πενίας ἐπαν-
όρθωσιν, διαδήματι καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ Μακε-
δονικοῖς καὶ σατραπικοῖς προστάγμασιν ὑπέρριψε
μετὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ Κλεομένει ποιεῖν
δοκῇ τὸ προσταττόμενον, Ἀντιγόνεια θύων καὶ
παιᾶνας ᾄδων αὐτὸς ἐστεφανωμένος εἰς ἄνθρωπον
ὑπὸ φθόης κατασηπόμενον.
6 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ Ἀράτου βουλόμενοι
κατηγορεῖν γράφομεν (ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ
οὗτος Ἑλληνικὸς γέγονε καὶ μέγας), οἰκτείροντες
δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν, εἰ μηδὲ
ἐν ἤθεσιν οὕτως ἀξιολόγοις καὶ διαφόροις πρὸς
ἀρετὴν ἐκφέρειν δύναται τὸ καλὸν ἀνεμέσητον.

XVII. Ἐλθόντων δὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἄργος αὖθις
ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐκ Τεγέας
καταβεβηκότος ἐλπὶς ἦν πολλὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἔσεσθαι τὴν διάλυσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος, ἤδη διωμο-
λογημένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον τῶν με-

said countless evil things in the commentaries which he left behind him. And still, though he had incurred many hardships and dangers in behalf of Athens, as he says himself, in order that the city might be set free from its garrison of Macedonians, he afterwards brought these Macedonians, under arms, into his own country and into his own home; aye, even into the apartments of his women;[1] but he would not consent that the man who was a descendant of Heracles and king of Sparta, and was seeking to bring its ancient polity, now like a decadent melody, back again to that restrained and Dorian law and life which Lycurgus had instituted, should be entitled leader of Sicyon and Tritaea. Instead of this, to avoid the Spartan barley-bread and short-cloak, and the most dreadful of the evils for which he denounced Cleomenes, namely, abolition of wealth and restoration of poverty, he cast himself and all Achaea down before a diadem, a purple robe, Macedonians, and oriental behests. And that he might not be thought to obey Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to Antigonus and sang paeans himself, with a garland on his head, in praise of a man who was far gone with consumption.

I write this, however, not with any desire to denounce Aratus, for in many ways he was a true Greek and a great one, but out of pity for the weakness of human nature, which, even in characters so notably disposed towards excellence, cannot produce a nobility that is free from blame.

XVII. When the Achaeans came to Argos again for the conference, and Cleomenes had come down from Tegea, there was strong hope that the two men would come to an agreement. But Aratus, since the most important questions between him and Antigonus

[1] See the *Aratus*, xlix. 1.

γίστων, φοβούμενος τὸν Κλεομένη μὴ πάντα διαπράξηται καθομιλήσας τὸ πλῆθος ἢ καὶ βιασάμενος, ἠξίου λαβόντα τριακοσίους ὁμήρους μόνον εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἢ κατὰ γυμνάσιον ἔξωθεν τὸ Κυλλαράβιον προσελθόντα μετὰ τῆς
2 δυνάμεως διαλέγεσθαι. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Κλεομένης ἄδικα πάσχειν ἔφασκε· δεῖν γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τότε προειπεῖν, οὐ νῦν, ἥκοντος ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς ἐκείνων, ἀπιστεῖν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν. γράψας δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ἧς ἦν τὸ πλεῖστον Ἀράτου κατηγορία, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀράτου λοιδορήσαντος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνέζευξε διὰ ταχέων καὶ κήρυκα πόλεμον προεροῦντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ εἰς Ἄργος, ἀλλ' εἰς Αἴγιον, ὥς φησιν Ἄρατος, ὅπως φθάσῃ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν.

3 Ἐγεγόνει δὲ κίνημα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὥρμησαν αἱ πόλεις, τῶν μὲν δήμων νομήν τε χώρας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐλπισάντων, τῶν δὲ πρώτων πολλαχοῦ βαρυνομένων τὸν Ἄρατον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ὡς ἐπάγοντα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ Μακεδόνας. διὸ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Κλεομένης εἰς Ἀχαΐαν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἷλε Πελλήνην ἐξαπίνης ἐπιπεσών, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἐξέβαλε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν·[1] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φενεὸν προσηγάγετο καὶ Πεντέ-
4 λειον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ προδοσίαν τινὰ πραττομένην ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Σικυῶνι τοὺς

[1] τῶν Ἀχαιῶν with Blass: μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

had already been settled, and because he was afraid that Cleomenes would carry all his points by either winning over or constraining the multitude, demanded that Cleomenes, after receiving three hundred hostages, should come into the city alone for his conference with them, or else should come with his army as far as the gymnasium outside the city called Cyllarabium, and treat with them there. When Cleomenes heard this, he declared that he had been wronged; for he ought to have been told of this when the conference was first proposed, and not be distrusted and driven away now, when he had come to their very doors. Then, after writing a letter to the Achaeans on the matter, most of which was denunciation of Aratus, and after Aratus on his part had abused him at great length to the multitude, Cleomenes broke camp with all speed and sent a herald to declare war upon the Achaeans, not to Argos, but to Aegium, in order, as Aratus says, that he might anticipate their preparations for defence.[1]

Now, there had been agitation among the Achaeans, and their cities were eager for revolt, the common people expecting division of land and abolition of debts, and the leading men in many cases being dissatisfied with Aratus, and some of them also enraged at him for bringing Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Therefore Cleomenes, encouraged by these conditions, invaded Achaea. First, he took Pellené by a sudden assault, and drove out the Achaean garrison; next, he brought over to his cause Pheneus and Penteleium. Presently the Achaeans, who were afraid that some treachery was afoot in Corinth and

[1] Cf. the *Aratus*, xxxix.

ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐκεῖ παραφυλάξοντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Νέμεια καταβάντες εἰς Ἄργος ἦγον, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ὁ Κλεομένης, ὄχλου πανηγυρικοῦ καὶ θεατῶν τὴν πόλιν γέμουσαν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπελθὼν μᾶλλον ταράξειν, νυκτὸς ἦγε πρὸς τὰ τείχη τὸ στρά-
5 *τευμα, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τόπον καταλαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ δυσπρόσοδον οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε μηδένα τραπέσθαι πρὸς ἀλκήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρὰν λαβεῖν, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμήρους εἴκοσι, καὶ γενέσθαι συμμάχους Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.*

XVIII. Οὐ *μικρὸν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμιν ὑπῆρχεν. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πάλαι βασιλεῖς Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὰ πραγματευσάμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι τὸ Ἄργος βεβαίως ἠδυνήθησαν, ὅ τε δεινότατος τῶν στρατηγῶν Πύρρος εἰσελθὼν καὶ βιασάμενος οὐ κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε καὶ πολὺ συνδιεφθάρη μέρος αὐτῷ*
2 *τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅθεν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ* 813
διάνοιαν τοῦ Κλεομένους· καὶ οἱ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἀπομιμήσασθαι φάσκοντες ἐν τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει καὶ τῇ τῶν κτημάτων ἐξισώσει καταγελῶντες, τότε παντελῶς ἐπείθοντο τοῦτο αἴτιον γεγονέναι τῆς περὶ τοὺς
3 *Σπαρτιάτας μεταβολῆς. οὕτω γὰρ ἔπραττον τὸ πρὶν ταπεινὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν αὑτοῖς ἀδυνάτως εἶχον, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπαγαγεῖν, ὅτε φασὶν εἰπεῖν τινα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς ὤνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀποκουφί-*

Sicyon, sent their horsemen and their mercenaries out of Argos to keep watch over those cities, while they themselves went down to Argos and began celebrating the Nemean games. So Cleomenes, expecting, as was the case, that while the throng was holding festival and the city was full of spectators, his unexpected approach would be more apt to cause confusion, led his army by night up to the walls, occupied the region about the Aspis overlooking the theatre, a region which was rugged and hard to come at, and so terrified the inhabitants that not a man of them thought of defence, but they accepted a garrison and gave twenty citizens as hostages, agreeing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians, and to give Cleomenes the chief command.

XVIII. This greatly increased the reputation and power of Cleomenes. For the ancient kings of Sparta, in spite of numerous efforts, were not able to secure the abiding allegiance of Argos; and the most formidable of generals, Pyrrhus, although he fought his way into the city, could not hold it, but was slain there, and a great part of his army perished with him.[1] Therefore men admired the swiftness and intelligence of Cleomenes; and those who before this had mocked at him for feebly imitating, as they said, Solon and Lycurgus in the abolition of debts and the equalization of property, were now altogether convinced that this imitation was the cause of the change in the Spartans. For these were formerly in so low a state and so unable to help themselves, that Aetolians invaded Laconia and took away fifty thousand slaves. It was at this time, we are told, that one of the elder Spartans remarked that the enemy had helped Sparta

[1] See the *Pyrrhus*, xxxii. ff.

4 σαντες. ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος ἁψάμενοι μόνον τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ καταστάντες εἰς ἴχνος ἐκείνης τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὥσπερ παρόντι καὶ συμπολιτευομένῳ τῷ Λυκούργῳ πολλὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πειθαρχίας, τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἡγεμονίαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἀνακτώμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

XIX. Ἑαλωκότος δὲ Ἄργους καὶ κατόπιν εὐθὺς προσθεμένων τῷ Κλεομένει Κλεωνῶν καὶ Φλιοῦντος, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὁ Ἄρατος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ποιούμενός τινα τῶν λεγομένων λακωνίζειν ἐξέτασιν· ἀγγελίας δὲ περὶ τούτων προσπεσούσης διαταραχθεὶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποκλίνουσαν αἰσθόμενος πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλομένην, ἐκάλει μὲν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοὺς πολίτας, ἔλαθε δὲ διολισθὼν ἄχρι τῆς πύλης. ἐκεῖ δὲ τοῦ ἵππου προσαχθέντος ἀναβὰς ἔφυγεν
2 εἰς Σικυῶνα. τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἁμιλλωμένων εἰς Ἄργος πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη φησὶν ὁ Ἄρατος τοὺς ἵππους πάντας ῥαγῆναι, τὸν δὲ Κλεομένη μέμφεσθαι τοὺς Κορινθίους μὴ συλλαβόντας αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντας διαφυγεῖν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν Μεγιστόνουν παρὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους δεομένου παραλαβεῖν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον (εἶχε γὰρ φρουρὰν Ἀχαιῶν) καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα διδόντος· ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ἔχεται· ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἄρατος γέγραφεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους ἐπελθὼν καὶ προσαγαγόμενος Τροιζηνίους, Ἐπιδαυρίους, Ἑρμιονέας, ἧκεν εἰς Κόρινθον· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν περιεχαράκωσε, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ βουλομένων

by lightening her burden. But now only a little time had elapsed, and they had as yet barely resumed their native customs and re-entered the track of their famous discipline, when, as if before the very eyes of Lycurgus and with his co-operation, they gave abundant proof of valour and obedience to authority, by recovering the leadership of Hellas for Sparta and making all Peloponnesus their own again.

XIX. Thus Argos was taken by Cleomenes, and immediately afterwards Cleonae and Phlius came over to him. When this happened, Aratus was at Corinth, holding a judicial examination of those who were reputed to favour the Spartan cause. The unexpected tidings threw him into consternation, and perceiving that the city was leaning towards Cleomenes and wished to be rid of the Achaeans, he summoned the citizens into the council-hall, and then slipped away unnoticed to the city gate. There his horse was brought to him, and mounting it he fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were so eager to get to Cleomenes at Argos that, as Aratus says, all their horses were ruined. Aratus says also that Cleomenes upbraided the Corinthians for not seizing him, but letting him escape; however, Megistonoüs came to him, he says, bringing from Cleomenes a request for the surrender of Acrocorinthus (which was held by an Achaean garrison) and an offer of a large sum of money for it; to which he replied that he did not control affairs, but rather affairs controlled him. This is what Aratus writes.

But Cleomenes, marching up from Argos and taking over Troezen, Epidaurus, and Hermioné, came to Corinth. Its citadel he blockaded, since the Achaeans would not abandon it, and after summon-

ἐκλιπεῖν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβόντας φυλάττειν καὶ διοικεῖν.
4 Τριτύμαλλον δὲ πάλιν τὸν Μεσσήνιον ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ διπλῆν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὴν σύνταξιν ἧς ἐλάμβανε παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἄρατος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τόν τε υἱὸν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμήρων καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπεισεν Ἀντιγόνῳ παραδιδόναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, οὕτως ὁ Κλεομένης τήν τε Σικυωνίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθησε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Ἀράτου, τῶν Κορινθίων αὐτῷ ψηφισαμένων, δωρεὰν ἔλαβε.

XX. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν Γεράνειαν ὑπερβάλλοντος οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Ὄνεια χαρακώσας καὶ τειχίσας φυλάττειν, καὶ τοπομαχῶν ἀποτρίβεσθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας μᾶλλον ἢ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς φάλαγγα συνησκημένην. καὶ τούτοις χρώμενος τοῖς λογισ-
2 μοῖς εἰς ἀπορίαν καθίστη τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτον εἶχεν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἱκανόν, οὔτε βιάσασθαι τὴν πάροδον, καθημένου τοῦ Κλεομένους, ἦν ῥᾴδιον· ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ παραδύεσθαι διὰ τοῦ Λεχαίου νυκτὸς ἐξέπεσε καί τινας ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥστε παντάπασι θαρρῆσαι τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπηρμένους τῇ 814
νίκῃ τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀθυμεῖν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς οὐκ εὐπόρους κατακλειόμενον ὑπὸ
3 τῆς ἀνάγκης λογισμούς. ἐβουλεύετο γὰρ ἐπὶ

ing the friends and stewards of Aratus, ordered them to take the house and property of Aratus into their charge and management. Then he sent Tritymallus the Messenian once more to Aratus, proposing that Acrocorinthus should be garrisoned by Achaeans and Lacedaemonians together, and promising Aratus personally double the stipend which he was receiving from King Ptolemy.[1] Aratus, however, would not listen to the proposition, but sent his son to Antigonus along with the other hostages, and persuaded the Achaeans to vote the surrender of Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Therefore Cleomenes invaded the territory of Sicyon and ravaged it, and accepted the property of Aratus when the Corinthians voted it to him as a gift.

XX. When Antigonus with a large force was crossing the mountain-range of Geraneia, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify thoroughly, not the Isthmus, but the Oneian range of hills, and to wear out the Macedonians by a war of posts and positions, rather than to engage in formal battle with their disciplined phalanx. He carried out this plan, and thereby threw Antigonus into straits. For he had not a sufficient store of provisions, and it was no easy matter to force his passage while Cleomenes sat entrenched. Moreover, when he attempted to slip past his enemy in the night by way of Lechaeum, he was driven out and lost some of his soldiers. Therefore Cleomenes was altogether encouraged, and his men, elated by their victory, betook themselves to supper; but Antigonus was dejected, since he was shut up by necessity to difficult plans. For he was

[1] Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247–222 B.C. See the *Aratus*, xli. 3.

τὴν ἄκραν ἀναζευγνύναι τὸ Ἡραῖον κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Σικυῶνα πλοίοις περαιῶσαι τὴν δύναμιν· ὃ καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦν οὐ τῆς τυχούσης. ἤδη δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἧκον ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ θάλατταν ἄνδρες Ἀράτου φίλοι, καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφισταμένων τῶν Ἀργείων τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὁ δὲ πράττων ἦν τὴν ἀπόστασιν Ἀριστοτέλης· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπεισεν, ἀγανακτοῦν ὅτι χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλεο-
4 μένης ἐλπίσασι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἄρατος παρ' Ἀντιγόνου στρατιώτας χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους παρέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκεῖνον οὐ περιέμενεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολίτας παραλαβὼν προσεμάχετο τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ παρῆν αὐτῷ Τιμόξενος μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ Σικυῶνος βοηθῶν.

XXI. Ταῦτα περὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούσας ὁ Κλεομένης μετεπέμψατο Μεγιστόνουν, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἄργος βοηθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀργείων μάλιστα καταπιστωσάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἦν, καὶ διεκώλυσεν ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς ὑπόπτους. ἀπολύσας οὖν τὸν Μεγιστόνουν μετὰ δισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸς προσεῖχε τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους παρεθάρρυνεν ὡς οὐδενὸς μεγάλου περὶ τὸ Ἄργος, ἀλλὰ ταραχῆς τινος ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων γεγενη-
2 μένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μεγιστόνους τε παρεισπεσὼν εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἀνῃρέθη μαχόμενος καὶ μόγις ἀντεῖχον οἱ φρουροὶ καὶ διεπέμποντο συχνοὺς πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Ἄργους οἱ πολέμιοι κρατήσαντες καὶ τὰς παρόδους ἀποκλείσαντες

planning to march off to the promontory of the Heraeum, and from there to put his army across to Sicyon in transports—an undertaking requiring much time and extraordinary preparations. But when it was already towards evening, there came to him from Argos by sea some friends of Aratus, who summoned him to the city, on the ground that the Argives were ready to revolt from Cleomenes. The author of the revolt was Aristotle; and the multitude were easy to persuade, being incensed because Cleomenes had not brought about the abolition of debts which they expected. Accordingly, Aratus took fifteen hundred soldiers from Antigonus and sailed to Epidaurus. Aristotle, however, did not await his coming, but at the head of the citizens made an attack upon the garrison of the citadel; and Timoxenus came to his aid from Sicyon with the Achaean army.

XXI. It was about midnight when Cleomenes heard of these things, and summoning Megistonoüs, he angrily ordered him to go at once to Argos with assistance; for it was Megistonoüs who had given him most assurances of the fidelity of the Argives, and had thereby prevented him from expelling the suspected citizens. After sending off Megistonoüs, then, with two thousand soldiers, he himself kept watch upon Antigonus and tried to encourage the Corinthians, telling them that there was no great trouble at Argos, but only a slight disturbance made by a few men. However, when Megistonoüs, who had made his way into Argos, was slain in battle, and the garrison held out with difficulty and kept sending frequent messengers to Cleomenes, he was afraid that if the enemy made themselves masters of

αὐτοὶ πορθῶσιν ἀδεῶς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πολιορκῶσι τὴν Σπάρτην ἔρημον οὖσαν, ἀπῆγεν ἐκ Κορίν-
3 θου τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ταύτης μὲν εὐθὺς ἐστέρητο τῆς πόλεως εἰσελθόντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρὰν καταστήσαντος· ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῷ Ἄργει κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν εἰσαλέσθαι καὶ συνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς πορείας τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκκόψας δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀσπίδα ψαλίδας ἀνέβη καὶ συνέμιξε τοῖς ἔνδον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντέχουσι, καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἔνια κλίμακας προσθεὶς κατέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐρήμους πολεμίων ἐποίησε, τοῖς βέλεσι
4 χρήσασθαι προστάξας τοὺς Κρῆτας. ὡς δὲ κατεῖδε τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντα μετὰ τῆς φάλαγγος, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἤδη ῥύδην ἐλαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀπέγνω κρατήσειν· καὶ συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας πρὸς αὑτὸν ἀσφαλῶς κατέβη καὶ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπηλλάττετο, μεγίστων μὲν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ χρόνῳ πραγμάτων ἐπικρατήσας, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὅλης ὁμοῦ τι μιᾷ περιόδῳ Πελοποννήσου κύριος γενέσθαι δεήσας, ταχὺ δ' αὖθις ἐκπεσὼν ἁπάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατευομένων, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς πόλεις παρέδωκαν.

XXII. Οὕτω δ' αὐτῷ πεπραχότι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι τὴν δύναμιν, ἑσπέρας ἤδη περὶ Τεγέαν ἀφίκοντό τινες ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ἐν χερσὶ δυστυχίαν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, τεθνάναι τὴν γυναῖκα, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ ταῖς πάνυ κατορθουμέναις ἐκεῖνος ἐνεκαρτέρει στρατείαις, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς κατέβαινεν εἰς Σπάρτην,

Argos and shut up the passes, they might ravage at will the Laconian territory and lay siege to Sparta, which he had left without defenders. He therefore led his army away from Corinth. This city was at once lost to him, for Antigonus entered it and set a garrison there; but Cleomenes, on reaching Argos, made an attempt to scale the walls, and with this in view drew his forces together from their march, and cutting his way through the tunnels running under the Aspis, or citadel, he made the ascent and effected a junction with his garrison inside, which was still holding out against the Achaeans. He actually got possession of some portions of the city by using scaling-ladders, and cleared the streets of the enemy by bringing his Cretan archers into action. But when he saw Antigonus with his phalanx descending from the heights into the plain, and his horsemen already streaming into the city, he gave up trying to master it; and gathering all his troops about him he made his way safely down from the citadel and withdrew along past the city wall. He had made the greatest possible conquests in the briefest possible time, and had come within a little of making himself master of all Peloponnesus by a single march through it, but had quickly lost everything again. For some of his allies left him at once, and others after a little while handed their cities over to Antigonus.

XXII. Such was the result of his expedition, and he was leading his army home, when, as it was already evening and he was near Tegea, messengers from Sparta came with tidings of a fresh and even greater calamity, the death of his wife. It was because of her that even in his most successful campaigns he could not endure to the end, but would

ἐρῶν τῆς Ἀγιάτιδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιού-
2 *μενος ἐκείνην. ἐπλήγη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἤλγησεν, ὡς*
εἰκὸς ἦν νέον ἄνδρα καλλίστης καὶ σωφρονε-
στάτης ἀφῃρημένον γυναικός· οὐ μὴν κατῄσχυνεν
οὐδὲ προήκατο τῷ πάθει τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ
μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα
καὶ μορφὴν ἐν ᾧ πρότερον εἶχεν ἤθει διαφυλάτ-
των τά τε προστάγματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου καὶ 815
περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐφρόντιζεν.
3 *ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ*
μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς οἴκοι καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀπαλγή-
σας τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων
λογισμοῖς.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς
ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἠξίου λαβεῖν
ὅμηρα τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὴν μητέρα, χρόνον μὲν
συχνὸν ᾐσχύνετο φράσαι τῇ μητρί, καὶ πολλάκις
εἰσελθὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος τῷ λόγῳ
κατεσιώπησεν, ὥστε κἀκείνην ὑπονοεῖν καὶ παρὰ
τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ διαπυνθάνεσθαι μή τι κατοκνεῖ
4 *βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Κλεο-*
μένους ἀποτολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἐξεγέλασέ τε μέγα
καί, "Τοῦτο ἦν," εἶπεν, "ὃ πολλάκις ὁρμήσας
λέγειν ἀπεδειλίασας; οὐ θᾶττον ἡμᾶς ἐνθέμενος
εἰς πλοῖον ἀποστελεῖς, ὅπου ποτὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ
νομίζεις τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο χρησιμώτατον ἔσεσθαι,
πρὶν ὑπὸ γήρως αὐτοῦ καθήμενον διαλυθῆναι;"

5 *Πάντων οὖν ἑτοίμων γενομένων ἀφίκοντο μὲν*
εἰς Ταίναρον πεζῇ καὶ προὔπεμψεν ἡ δύναμις
αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις· μέλλουσα δὲ τῆς νεὼς
ἐπιβαίνειν ἡ Κρατησίκλεια τὸν Κλεομένη μόνον
εἰς τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπήγαγε, καὶ περι-

continually be coming home to Sparta, out of love for Agiatis and in supreme devotion to her. Of course, then, he was smitten with grief, as was natural for a young man who had lost a most beautiful and most sensible wife, but he did not allow his suffering to shame or betray the loftiness of his thought or the greatness of his spirit. He maintained his usual speech, dress, and bearing, gave the customary orders to his captains, and took thought for the safety of Tegea. Next morning he returned to Sparta, and after duly mourning his loss with his mother and children at home, he at once engaged in the measures which he planned for the public good.

Now, Ptolemy the king of Egypt promised him aid and assistance, but demanded his mother and his children as hostages. For a long time, therefore, he was ashamed to tell his mother, and though he often went to her and was at the very point of letting her know, he held his peace, so that she on her part became suspicious and enquired of his friends whether there was not something which he wished to impart to her but hesitated to do so. Finally, when Cleomenes plucked up courage to speak of the matter, his mother burst into a hearty laugh and said: "Was this the thing which thou wast often of a mind to tell me but lost thy courage? Make haste, put me on board a vessel, and send this frail body wheresoever thou thinkest it will be of most use to Sparta, before old age destroys it sitting idly here."

Accordingly, when all things were ready, they came to Taenarus by land, while the army escorted them under arms. And as Cratesicleia was about to embark, she drew Cleomenes aside by himself into the temple of Poseidon, and after embracing and kissing

ἐρῶν τῆς Ἀγιάτιδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιού-
2 μενος ἐκείνην. ἐπλήγη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἤλγησεν, ὡς
εἰκὸς ἦν νέον ἄνδρα καλλίστης καὶ σωφρονε-
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των τά τε προστάγματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου καὶ 81
περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐφρόντιζεν.
3 ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ
μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς οἴκοι καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀπαλγή-
σας τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων
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πρὶν ὑπὸ γήρως αὐτοῦ καθήμενον διαλυθῆναι;"

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βαλοῦσα καὶ κατασπασαμένη διαλγοῦντα καὶ συν-
6 τεταραγμένον, "Ἄγε," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ Λακε-
δαιμονίων, ὅπως, ἐπὰν ἔξω γενώμεθα, μηδεὶς ἴδῃ
δακρύοντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲ ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς Σπάρτης
ποιοῦντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνον· αἱ τύχαι
δέ, ὅπως ἂν ὁ δαίμων διδῷ, πάρεισι." ταῦτα δ'
εἰποῦσα καὶ καταστήσασα τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐπὶ τὴν
ναῦν ἐχώρει τὸ παιδίον ἔχουσα, καὶ διὰ τάχους
7 ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαίρειν τὸν κυβερνήτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς
Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπύθετο
λόγους παρ' Ἀντιγόνου καὶ πρεσβείας δεχόμενον,
περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἤκουσεν ὅτι, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν εἰς διαλύσεις, φοβοῖτο δι'
ἐκείνην ἄνευ Πτολεμαίου καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλε-
μον, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τὰ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πρέποντα
καὶ συμφέροντα πράττειν καὶ μὴ διὰ μίαν γραῦν
καὶ παιδάριον ἀεὶ δεδιέναι Πτολεμαῖον. αὕτη μὲν
οὖν παρὰ τὰς τύχας τοιαύτη λέγεται γεγενῆσθαι.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Τεγέαν μὲν παραλα-
βόντος, Ὀρχομενὸν δὲ καὶ Μαντίνειαν διαρπά-
σαντος, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Λακωνικὴν συνεσταλμένος
ὁ Κλεομένης τῶν μὲν εἱλώτων τοὺς πέντε μνᾶς
Ἀττικὰς καταβαλόντας ἐλευθέρους ἐποίει καὶ
τάλαντα πεντακόσια συνέλεξε, δισχιλίους δὲ προσ-
καθοπλίσας Μακεδονικῶς ἀντίταγμα τοῖς παρ'
Ἀντιγόνου λευκάσπισιν, ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν βάλλεται
2 μέγα καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπροσδόκητον. ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις
ἦν μὲν τότε καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐδέν τι μείων οὐδὲ
ἀσθενεστέρα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, εἶχε δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου βοήθειαν, ἐν
πλευραῖς καθεζομένου καὶ δοκοῦντος ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἐπικεκλῆσθαι μάλιστα τῶν Μεγαλο-

him in his anguish and deep trouble, said: "Come, O king of the Lacedaemonians, when we go forth let no one see us weeping or doing anything unworthy of Sparta. For this lies in our power, and this alone; but as for the issues of fortune, we shall have what the Deity may grant." After saying this, she composed her countenance and proceeded to the ship with her little grandson, and bade the captain put to sea with all speed. And when she was come to Egypt, and learned that Ptolemy was entertaining embassies and proposals from Antigonus, and heard that although the Achaeans invited Cleomenes to make terms with them, he was afraid on her account to end the war without the consent of Ptolemy, she sent word to him that he must do what was fitting and advantageous for Sparta, and not, because of one old woman and a little boy, be ever in fear of Ptolemy. Such, then, as we are told, was the bearing of Cratesicleia in her misfortunes.

XXIII. After Antigonus had taken Tegea by siege, and had surprised Orchomenus and Mantineia, Cleomenes, now reduced to the narrow confines of Laconia, set free those of the Helots who could pay down five Attic minas (thereby raising a sum of five hundred talents), armed two thousand of them in Macedonian fashion as an offset to the White Shields of Antigonus, and planned an undertaking which was great and entirely unexpected. Megalopolis was at that time of itself fully as large and strong as Sparta, and could have assistance from the Achaeans and from Antigonus; for Antigonus was encamped near by, and it was thought that the Megalopolitans were chiefly responsible for his being called in by the

3 πολιτῶν σπουδασάντων. ταύτην διαρπάσαι διανοηθεὶς ὁ Κλεομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ᾧ μᾶλλον ἔοικε τὸ ταχὺ καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐκείνης τῆς πράξεως), ἡμερῶν πέντε σιτία λαβεῖν κελεύσας ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σελασίαν ὡς τὴν Ἀργολικὴν κακουργήσων· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Μεγαλοπολιτικὴν καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενος περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο τὴν δι'
4 Ἑλικοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· ἀποσχὼν δ' οὐ πολὺ Παντέα μὲν ἔχοντα δύο τάγματα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέστειλε, καταλαβέσθαι κελεύσας μεσοπύργιον, ὃ τῶν τειχῶν ἐρημότατον εἶναι τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ἐπυνθάνετο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει σχολαίως ἐπηκολούθει. τοῦ δὲ Παντέως οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀφύλακτον εὑρόντος, καὶ τὰ μὲν καθαιροῦντος εὐθύς, τὰ δὲ διασκάπτοντος, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν οἷς ἐνέτυχε πάντας ἀποκτείναντος, ἔφθασε 816
προσμίξας ὁ Κλεομένης, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἔνδον ἦν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

XXIV. Φανεροῦ δὲ μόλις τοῦ κακοῦ γενομένου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξέπιπτον ὅσα τυγχάνοι τῶν χρημάτων λαμβάνοντες, οἱ δὲ συνεστρέφοντο μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνιστάμενοι καὶ προσβάλλοντες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐκκροῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν παρέσχον, ὥστε μὴ πλείονα τῶν χιλίων ἐγκαταληφθῆναι σώματα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν φθάσαι διαφυγόντας εἰς Μεσσήνην.
2 ἐσώθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσβοηθούντων καὶ μαχομένων τὸ πλῆθος· ὀλίγοι δὲ παντάπασιν ἥλωσαν,

Achaeans. This city Cleomenes planned to snatch away (for nothing else could better describe the speed and unexpectedness of his famous achievement), and ordering his men to take five days' rations, he led them forth to Sellasia, as though he would ravage the territory of Argos. But from there he descended into the territory of Megalopolis, and after giving his men their supper at the Rhoeteium, he marched at once by way of Helicus against the city itself. When he was not far away he dispatched Panteus with two divisions of Lacedaemonians, ordering him to seize a portion of the wall between two towers which he had learned was the most unprotected part of the walls of Megalopolis, while he himself with the rest of his army followed slowly after. Panteus found not only that particular spot, but also a great part of the wall, undefended, and at once tore down some portions of it, undermining others, and slaying all the defenders whom he encountered. Cleomenes promptly joined him, and before the Megalopolitans were aware of it, he was inside the city with his army.

XXIV. At last the disaster became clear to the citizens, and some of them at once fled the city, taking with them what property they could lay hands on, while others banded together under arms, resisting and assaulting the enemy. These they were not strong enough to eject from the city, but they afforded a safe escape to the citizens who wished to flee, so that not more than a thousand persons were taken in the place; all the rest, together with their wives and children, succeeded in escaping to Messene. Moreover, the greater part of those who tried to save the city by fighting got off alive; but a few of them,

ὧν ἦν Λυσανδρίδας τε καὶ Θεαρίδας, ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι καὶ δυνατοὶ μάλιστα τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν. διὸ καὶ λαβόντες αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Κλεομένει προσῆγον. ὁ δὲ Λυσανδρίδας ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κλεομένη πόρρωθεν, ἀναβοήσας, "Ἔξεστί σοι νῦν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔργον ἀποδειξαμένῳ τοῦ πεπραγμένου κάλλιον
3 καὶ βασιλικώτατον ἐνδοξοτάτῳ γενέσθαι." ὁ Κλεομένης δὲ ὑποτοπήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔντευξιν, "Τί δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Λυσανδρίδα, λέγεις; οὐ γὰρ δή πού με τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι κελεύεις;" καὶ ὁ Λυσανδρίδας, "Αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "λέγω καὶ συμβουλεύω μὴ διαφθεῖραι πόλιν τηλικαύτην, ἀλλ' ἐμπλῆσαι φίλων καὶ συμμάχων πιστῶν καὶ βεβαίων, ἀποδόντα Μεγαλοπολίταις τὴν πατρίδα καὶ σωτῆρα δήμου το-
4 σούτου γενόμενον." μικρὸν οὖν ὁ Κλεομένης διασιωπήσας, "Χαλεπόν," ἔφη, "τὸ πιστεῦσαι ταῦτα, νικάτω δὲ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ λυσιτελὲς παρ' ἡμῖν." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς Μεσσήνην καὶ κήρυκα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ἀποδιδοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους ἀποστάντας Ἀχαιῶν.

5 Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους εὐγνώμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα προτείναντος οὐκ εἴασε τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πίστιν, ἀλλὰ κατηγορῶν τοῦ Κλεομένους ὡς οὐ ζητοῦντος ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ προσλαβεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐξέβαλε τὸν Θεαρίδαν καὶ τὸν Λυσανδρίδαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης.

all told, were captured, among whom were Lysandridas and Thearidas, men of the greatest reputation and influence in Megalopolis. Therefore the soldiers had no sooner seized them than they brought them to Cleomenes. Then Lysandridas, when he saw Cleomenes from afar, cried out with a loud voice and said: "It is in thy power now, O king of the Lacedaemonians, to display an action fairer and more worthy of a king than any that has preceded it, and thereby win men's highest esteem." But Cleomenes, conjecturing what the speaker wished, said: "What meanest thou, Lysandridas? Thou surely canst not bid me give your city back again to you." To which Lysandridas replied: "Indeed, that is just what I mean, and I advise thee in thine own interests not to destroy so great a city, but to fill it with friends and allies who are trusty and true by giving back to the Megalopolitans their native city and becoming the preserver of so large a people." Accordingly, after a short silence, Cleomenes said: "It is difficult to believe that all this will happen, but with us let what makes for good repute always carry the day, rather than what brings gain." And with these words he sent the two men off to Messene attended by a herald from himself, offering to give back their city to the Megalopolitans on condition that they renounce the Achaean cause and be his friends and allies.

However, although Cleomenes made this benevolent and humane offer, Philopoemen would not allow the Megalopolitans to break their pledges to the Achaeans, but denounced Cleomenes on the ground that he sought, not so much to give their city back to its citizens, as rather to get the citizens with their city[1]; then he drove Thearidas and Lysandridas out

[1] See the *Philopoemen*, v.

οὗτος ἦν Φιλοποίμην ὁ πρωτεύσας ὕστερον Ἀχαιῶν καὶ μεγίστην κτησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαν, ὡς ἰδίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται.

XXV. Τούτων *δὲ ἀπαγγελθέντων τῷ* Κλεο*μένει, τετηρηκὼς τὴν πόλιν ἄθικτον καὶ ἀκέραιον, ὥστε μηδένα λαθεῖν μηδὲ τοὐλάχιστον λαβόντα, τότε παντάπασι τραχυνθεὶς καὶ ἀγανακτήσας τὰ μὲν χρήματα διήρπασεν, ἀνδριάντας δὲ καὶ γραφὰς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Σπάρτην, τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα μέρη κατασκάψας καὶ διαφθείρας ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ' οἴκου, φοβούμενος τὸν*
2 Ἀντίγονον *καὶ τοὺς* Ἀχαιούς. *ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἐτύγχανον μὲν γὰρ ἐν* Αἰγίῳ *βουλὴν ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ* Ἄρατος *ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἔκλαιε τὴν χλαμύδα θέμενος πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου, θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ λέγειν κελευόντων εἶπεν ὅτι* Μεγάλη *πόλις ἀπόλωλεν ὑπὸ* Κλεομένους, *ἡ μὲν σύνοδος εὐθὺς διελύθη τῶν* Ἀχαιῶν *καταπλαγέντων τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ*
3 *τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ* Ἀντίγονος *ἐπιχειρήσας βοηθεῖν, εἶτα βραδέως αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ἀνισταμένης, ταύτην μὲν αὖθις ἐκέλευσε κατὰ χώραν μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς* Ἄργος, *οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχων στρατιώτας μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.*

Διὸ *καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐγχείρημα τοῦ* Κλεομένους *ἔδοξε μὲν τετολμῆσθαι παραβόλως καὶ μανικῶς, ἐπράχθη δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας, ὥς φησι*
4 Πολύβιος. *εἰδὼς γὰρ εἰς τὰ χειμάδια διεσπαρ-*

of Messene. This was that Philopoemen who afterwards became the leader of the Achaeans and won the greatest fame among the Greeks, as I have written in his own Life.

XXV. When tidings of these things were brought to Cleomenes, although he had taken strict care that the city should be inviolate and unharmed, so that no one took even the least thing without being detected, he was now so incensed and embittered that he plundered it, and sent its statues and pictures off to Sparta; then, after completely demolishing most and the largest portions of the city, he marched back towards home, being in fear of Antigonus and the Achaeans. But these did nothing. For they were holding a general assembly at Aegium; and here Aratus, after mounting the bema, wept for a long time, holding his mantle before his face; and when his audience was amazed and bade him speak, he told them that Megalopolis had been destroyed by Cleomenes. Then the assembly at once broke up, the Achaeans being filled with consternation at the swiftness and magnitude of the calamity. Antigonus at first attempted to give aid, but afterwards, since his forces came up to him but slowly from their winter quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, while he himself proceeded to Argos, having only a few soldiers with him.

And this was the reason why the next attempt of Cleomenes, which was thought to be a deed of extravagant and frantic daring, was really made with great forethought, as Polybius says.[1] For Cleomenes

[1] "Most people thought this a hazardous and foolhardy step; but those who were capable of judging regarded the measure as at once safe and prudent" (ii. 64, 1).

μένους κατὰ πόλιν[1] τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ τὸν 817
Ἀντίγονον οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα μισθοφόρους ἐν Ἄργει διαχειμάζοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀργείαν, λογιζόμενος ἢ δι' αἰσχύνην τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου παροξυνθέντος ἐπικρατήσειν ἢ μὴ τολμήσαντα μάχεσθαι διαβαλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους. ὃ καὶ συνέβη. διαφθειρομένης γὰρ τῆς χώρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀγομένων καὶ
5 φερομένων, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας συνεστρέφοντο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατεβόων, μάχεσθαι κελεύοντες ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς ἔδει στρατηγὸν ἔμφρονα, τὸ κινδυνεῦσαι παραλόγως καὶ προέσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αἰσχρόν, οὐ τὸ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἡγούμενος, οὐ προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐνέμενε τοῖς αὑτοῦ λογισμοῖς. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἄχρι τῶν τειχῶν τῷ στρατῷ προσελθὼν καὶ καθυβρίσας καὶ διαλυμηνάμενος ἀδεῶς ἀνεχώρησεν.

XXVI. Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον αὖθις, εἰς Τεγέαν ἀκούσας προϊέναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὡς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλοῦντα, ταχὺ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς παραλλάξας ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἀνεφάνη, πορθῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὸν σῖτον οὐ κείρων, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, δρεπάναις καὶ μαχαίραις, ἀλλὰ κόπτων ξύλοις μεγάλοις εἰς σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἀπειργασμένοις, ὡς ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ χρωμένους ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι σὺν μηδενὶ πόνῳ πάντα συγκατατρῖψαι καὶ
2 διαφθεῖραι τὸν καρπόν. ὡς μέντοι κατὰ τὴν

[1] κατὰ πόλιν Blass and Ziegler, after Schoemann: κατὰ πόλιν ὥς φησι.

knew that the Macedonians were dispersed among the cities in their winter quarters, and that Antigonus had only a few mercenaries with him at Argos, where he was spending the winter with his friends. Cleomenes therefore invaded the territory of Argos, calculating that Antigonus would either be shamed into fighting and would be overpowered, or, in case he did not venture to fight, would incur odium among the Argives. And this was what actually came to pass. For while Cleomenes was wasting the country and robbing it of all that was there, the Argives, in distress, kept thronging the doors of the king and calling upon him with loud voices either to fight or yield the leadership to his betters. But Antigonus, as became a prudent general, considering that disgrace lay in taking unreasonable risks and throwing away his security, rather than in being abused by the outside rabble, would not go forth from the city, but stood by his previous plans. So Cleomenes came up to the very walls of the city with his army, wrought insolent havoc, and then withdrew unmolested.

XXVI. A little later, however, hearing that Antigonus had advanced to Tegea with intent to invade Laconia from that city, Cleomenes quickly took his soldiers, marched past the enemy by a different route, and at daybreak appeared suddenly before the city of Argos, ravaging the plain and destroying the grain, not cutting this down, as usual, with sickles and knives, but beating it down with great pieces of wood fashioned like spear-shafts. These his soldiers plied as if in sport, while passing by, and with no effort at all they would crush and ruin all the crop. When, however, they were come to the

Κυλλάραβιν γενόμενοι τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐπεχείρουν προσφέρειν πῦρ, ἐκώλυσεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπ' ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἄργος
ἀναχωρήσαντος, ἔπειτα τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς
πάσας φυλακαῖς καταλαβόντος, ἀμελεῖν καὶ κατα-
φρονεῖν προσποιούμενος ἔπεμψε κήρυκας τὰς κλεῖς
ἀξιῶν τοῦ Ἡραίου λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαλλάττοιτο
3 τῇ θεῷ θύσας. οὕτω δὲ παίξας καὶ κατειρωνευ-
σάμενος, καὶ τῇ θεῷ θύσας ὑπὸ τὸν νεὼν κεκλεισ-
μένον, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Φλιοῦντα τὸν στρατόν· ἐκεῖθεν
δὲ τοὺς φρουροῦντας τὸν Ὀλίγυρτον ἐξελάσας
κατέβη παρὰ τὸν Ὀρχομενόν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολί-
ταις φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος ἐμπεποιηκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνὴρ ἡγεμονικὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ
4 πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἄξιος. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ μιᾶς
πόλεως ὁρμώμενον ὁμοῦ τῇ Μακεδόνων δυνάμει
καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅπασι καὶ χορηγίᾳ βασιλικῇ
πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἄθικτον διαφυλάττοντα
τὴν Λακωνικήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χώραν κακῶς ποιοῦντα
τὴν ἐκείνων καὶ πόλεις αἱροῦντα τηλικαύτας, οὐ
τῆς τυχούσης ἐδόκει δεινότητος εἶναι καὶ μεγαλο-
φροσύνης.

XXVII. Ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτος τὰ χρήματα νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων προσειπὼν εἰς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα μάλιστα βλέψας τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἔοικε. καὶ Δημάδης, τὰς τριήρεις μὲν καθέλκειν καὶ πληροῦν ποτε τῶν Ἀθηναίων κελευόντων, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐχόντων "Πρότερόν ἐστιν," ἔφη, "τὸ προδεῦσαι τοῦ φυρᾶσαι."[1] λέγεται δὲ καὶ

[1] τὸ προδεῦσαι τοῦ φυρᾶσαι Bekker and Blass, after

Cyllarabis and attempted to set the gymnasium on fire, Cleomenes stopped them, feeling that his work at Megalopolis had been done to satisfy his anger rather than his honour.

As for Antigonus, in the first place he went back at once to Argos, and then occupied the hills and all the passes with outposts. But Cleomenes pretended to despise and ignore all this, and sent heralds to the king demanding the keys to the Heraeum, that he might offer sacrifice to the goddess before he went away. Then, after this jest and mockery, and after sacrificing to the goddess under the walls of the temple, which was closed, he led his army off to Phlius. From thence, after expelling the garrison of Oligyrtus, he marched down to Orchomenus, not only infusing high spirits and courage into its citizens, but also leading his enemies to think him a man capable of leadership and worthy to wield great power. For he drew his resources from but a single city, and yet waged war against the Macedonian power, all the Peloponnesians, and the treasures of a king together, and not only kept Laconia inviolate, but actually ravaged his enemies' territory and took cities of great size; and men thought this a proof of no ordinary ability and largeness of purpose.

XXVII. But he who first declared that money is the sinews of affairs would seem to have spoken with special reference to the affairs of war. And Demades, when the Athenians once ordered that their triremes should be launched and manned, but had no money, said: "Dough must be moistened before it is kneaded." It is said also that Archidamus of old,

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Schoemann: τοῦ πρωρατεῦσαι τὸ φυρᾶσαι (*before the lookout-man comes the bread-maker*) with the MSS.

Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ παλαιὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελο-
ποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, κελευόντων εἰσφορὰς τάξαι
τῶν συμμάχων αὐτόν, εἰπεῖν ὡς ὁ πόλεμος οὐ
2 τεταγμένα σιτεῖται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ σεσωμασ-
κηκότες ἀθληταὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καταβαροῦσι καὶ
καταγωνίζονται τοὺς εὐρύθμους καὶ τεχνίτας,
οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐκ πολλῆς ἀναφέρων
δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξεπόνει καὶ κατήθλει
τὸν Κλεομένη γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις πορίζοντα τοῖς
3 ξένοις μισθὸν καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς πολίταις. ἐπεὶ
τἆλλά γε πρὸς τοῦ Κλεομένους ὁ χρόνος ἦν, τῶν
οἴκοι πραγμάτων ἀνιστάντων τὸν Ἀντίγονον.
βάρβαροι γὰρ περιέκοπτον ἀπόντος καὶ κατέ-
τρεχον τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τότε δὴ πολὺς ἄνωθεν 818
Ἰλλυριῶν ἐμβεβλήκει στρατός, ὑφ' οὗ πορθούμενοι
μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἀντίγονον οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ
παρ' ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς μάχης συνέτυχε ταῦτα τὰ
γράμματα κομισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν· ὧν κομι-
σθέντων εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπῆλθε μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας
4 Ἀχαιοῖς. ἀλλ' ἡ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων
κρίνουσα τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν τύχη τηλικαύτην ἀπε-
δείξατο ῥοπὴν καιροῦ καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε, τῆς
μάχης ἐν Σελασίᾳ γενομένης καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους
ἀποβεβληκότος τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, εὐθὺς
παρεῖναι τοὺς καλοῦντας τὸν Ἀντίγονον. ὃ καὶ
μάλιστα τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ Κλεομένους οἰκτρο-
5 τέραν ἐποίησεν. εἰ γὰρ ἡμέρας δύο μόνας ἐπέσχε
καὶ παρήγαγε φυγομαχῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ
μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο διηλλάγη πρὸς
τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπελθόντων τῶν Μακεδόνων· νῦν
δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν ἐν τοῖς

towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies ordered their contributions for the war to be fixed, said: "War has no fixed rations."[1] And indeed, just as athletes who have taken a full course of training, in time bear down and overpower those who are merely graceful and skilful, so also did Antigonus, who engaged in the war with large resources, wear out and prostrate Cleomenes, who could only meagrely and with difficulty provide pay for his mercenaries and sustenance for his citizen-soldiers. And yet in all other respects, certainly, time was on the side of Cleomenes; for affairs at home demanded the presence of Antigonus. During his absence Barbarians had been overrunning and devastating Macedonia, and at this particular time a large army of Illyrians from the interior had burst in, and in consequence of their ravages the Macedonians summoned Antigonus home. Their letters came within a little of reaching him before the decisive battle. If they had so reached him, he would at once have gone away and left the Achaeans to their own devices. But Fortune, who decides the most important affairs by a narrow margin, favoured him with so slight a preponderance in the scale of opportunity and power, that no sooner had the battle at Sellasia been fought, where Cleomenes lost his army and his city, than the messengers summoning Antigonus arrived. And this more than anything else made the misfortune of Cleomenes to be greatly pitied. For if he could have held out only two days, and continued his defensive tactics, he would not have needed to fight a battle, but the Macedonians would have gone away and he could have made his own terms with the Achaeans. But now, as I said before, his lack of

[1] See the *Crassus*, ii. 7.

ὅπλοις τὸ πᾶν θέμενος ἠναγκάσθη δισμυρίοις, ὡς Πολύβιός φησι, πρὸς τρισμυρίους ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι.

XXVIII. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν στρατηγόν, ἐκθύμοις δὲ χρησάμενος τοῖς πολίταις, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ξένων μεμπτῶς ἀγωνισαμένων, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὁπλίσεως καὶ τῷ βάρει τῆς ὁπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος ἐξεθλίβη. Φύλαρχος δὲ καὶ προδοσίαν γενέσθαι φησὶ τὴν μάλιστα τῷ Κλεομένει τὰ πράγματα διεργασα-
2 μένην. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντιγόνου τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἐκπεριελθεῖν κρύφα κελεύσαντος καὶ κυκλώσασθαι θάτερον κέρας, ἐφ' οὗ τεταγμένος ἦν Εὐκλείδας ὁ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀδελφός, εἶτα τὴν ἄλλην ἐπὶ μάχῃ δύναμιν ἐκτάττοντος, ἀπὸ σκοπῆς θεωρῶν ὁ Κλεομένης, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων κατεῖδεν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ πρός τι τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντίγονος κέχρηται.
3 καλέσας δὲ Δαμοτέλη τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτείας τεταγμένον, ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπως ἔχει τὰ κατὰ νώτου καὶ κύκλῳ τῆς παρατάξεως. τοῦ δὲ Δαμοτέλους (ἦν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, χρήμασιν πρότερον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος) ἀμελεῖν ἐκείνων εἰπόντος ὡς καλῶς ἐχόντων, τοῖς δὲ συνάπτουσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσέχειν καὶ τούτους ἀμύνεσθαι, πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐχώρει,
4 καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Σπαρτιατῶν ὠσάμενος τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ πέντε που σταδίους ὑποχωρούντων ἐκβιαζόμενος καὶ

resources forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle where, as Polybius says,[1] he could oppose only twenty thousand men to thirty thousand.

XXVIII. He showed himself an admirable general in the hour of peril, his fellow countrymen gave him spirited support, and even his mercenaries fought in a praiseworthy manner, but he was overwhelmed by the superior character of his enemies' armour and the weight of their heavy-armed phalanx. Phylarchus, however, says that there was treachery also, and that this was chiefly what ruined Cleomenes. For Antigonus ordered his Illyrians and Acarnanians to go round by a secret way and envelope the other wing, which Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, commanded, and then led out the rest of his forces to battle; and when Cleomenes, from his post of observation, could nowhere see the arms of the Illyrians and Acarnanians, he was afraid that Antigonus was using them for some such purpose. He therefore called Damoteles, the commander of the secret service contingent,[2] and ordered him to observe and find out how matters stood in the rear and on the flanks of his array. But Damoteles (who had previously been bribed, as we are told, by Antigonus) told him to have no concern about flanks and rear, for all was well there, but to give his attention to those who assailed him in front, and repulse them. So Cleomenes, putting faith in what he was told, advanced upon Antigonus, and by the sweeping onset of his Spartans drove back the phalanx of the Macedonians for about five furlongs,

[1] *Hist.* ii. 65. 2 and 7. The battle of Sellasia was fought in June of 221 B.C.

[2] A rural police with the special duty of watching the Helots, or slave population.

κρατῶν ἠκολούθησεν. εἶτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἀπὸ θατέρου κυκλωθέντων ἐπιστὰς καὶ κατιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον, "Οἴχῃ μοι, φίλτατε ἀδελφέ," εἶπεν, "οἴχῃ, γενναῖος ὢν καὶ παισὶ ζηλωτὸς Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀοίδιμος." οὕτω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἀναιρεθέντων, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν, ὡς ἐκράτουν, ἐπιφερομένων ταραττομένους ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μένειν οὐκέτι τολμῶντας, ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τῶν ξένων πολλοὺς λέγουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἅπαντας πλὴν διακοσίων, ἑξακισχιλίους ὄντας.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, τοῖς μὲν ἀπαντήσασι τῶν πολιτῶν παρῄνει δέχεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν εἴτε ζῶν εἴτε ἀποθανών, ὃ μέλλοι τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνοίσειν, τοῦτο πράξειν. ὁρῶν δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεφευγόσι προστρεχούσας καὶ δεχομένας τὰ ὅπλα
2 καὶ ποτὸν προσφερούσας, αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς δὲ παιδίσκης, ἣν εἶχεν, ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἀνειληφὼς μετὰ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτήν, ὡς εἴθιστο, προσιούσης καὶ βουλομένης ἀπὸ στρατείας ἥκοντα θεραπεύειν, οὔτε πιεῖν ἐκδεδιψηκὼς ὑπέμεινεν οὔτε καθίσαι κεκμηκώς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε 819
τεθωρακισμένος τῶν κιόνων τινὶ τὴν χεῖρα προσβαλὼν πλαγίαν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὸν πῆχυν
3 ἐπιθείς, καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν οὕτω διαναπαύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ περιδραμὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς λογισμούς, ὥρμησε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς τὸ Γύθιον. κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιβάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένων πλοίων ἀνήχθησαν.

and followed after them victoriously. Then, after Eucleidas with the other wing had been encircled, he came to a stop, and seeing their peril, said; "I have lost thee, my dearest brother, I have lost thee, thou noble heart, thou great example to Spartan boys, thou theme for a song to Spartan wives!" After Eucleidas and his forces had in this way been cut to pieces, and the enemy, after their victory there, were coming on against the other wing, Cleomenes, seeing that his soldiers were in disorder and no longer had courage to stand their ground, took measures for his own safety. Many of his mercenaries fell, as we are told, and all the Spartans, six thousand in number, except two hundred.

XXIX. When Cleomenes came to the city, he advised the citizens who met him to receive Antigonus; as for himself, he said he would do whatever promised to be best for Sparta, whether it called for his life or death. Then, seeing the women running up to those who had escaped with him, relieving them of their arms, and bringing drink to them, he went into his own house. Here his concubine, a free woman of Megalopolis whom he had taken to himself after the death of his wife, came to him, as was her wont upon his return from the field, and wished to minister to him; but he would neither drink, though he was faint with thirst, nor sit down, though he was worn out. Instead, all in armour as he was, he put his arm aslant against one of the pillars of the house, dropped his face upon his forearm, and after resting himself in this way for a short time, and running over in his thoughts all possible plans, he set out with his friends for Gythium. There he went on board of vessels provided for this very purpose and put to sea.

XXX. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἐξ ἐφόδου παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ χρησάμενος τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις φιλανθρώπως, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης οὐ προπηλακίσας οὐδ' ἐνυβρίσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμους καὶ πολιτείαν ἀποδοὺς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύσας, ἀνεχώρησεν ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ, πυθόμενος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πολὺν πόλεμον εἶναι καὶ πορθεῖσθαι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ νόσημα κατεῖχεν αὐτόν, εἰς φθίσιν ἐκβεβηκὸς ἰσχυρὰν
2 καὶ κατάρρουν σύντονον. οὐ μὴν ἀπεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἀντήρκεσε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγῶνας ὅσον ἐπὶ νίκῃ μεγίστῃ καὶ φόνῳ πλείστῳ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐκλεέστερον ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς μὲν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Φύλαρχον, αὐτῇ τῇ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα κραυγῇ τὸ σῶμα προσαναρρήξας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι βοῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, "Ὦ καλῆς ἡμέρας," πλῆθος αἵματος ἀνήγαγε καὶ πυρέξας συντόνως ἐτελεύτησε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀντίγονον.

XXXI. Κλεομένης δὲ πλέων ἀπὸ Κυθήρων εἰς νῆσον ἑτέραν, Αἰγιαλίαν, κατέσχεν. ὅθεν εἰς Κυρήνην περαιοῦσθαι μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν φίλων εἷς ὄνομα Θηρυκίων, ἀνὴρ πρός τε τὰς πράξεις φρονήματι κεχρημένος μεγάλῳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις γεγονώς τις ὑψηλὸς ἀεὶ καὶ μεγάλαυχος, ἐντυχὼν αὐτῷ κατ' ἰδίαν, "Τὸν μὲν κάλλιστον," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, θάνατον τὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προηκάμεθα·
2 καίτοι πάντες ἤκουσαν ἡμῶν λεγόντων ὡς οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν Ἀντίγονος εἰ μὴ νεκρόν. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ νῦν ἔτι πάρεστιν ἡμῖν. ποῖ πλέομεν ἀλογίστως,

XXX. Antigonus marched up and took the city without resistance. He treated the Lacedaemonians humanely, and did not insult or mock the dignity of Sparta, but restored her laws and constitution,[1] sacrificed to the gods, and went away on the third day. For he learned that there was a great war in Macedonia and that the Barbarians were ravaging the country. Moreover, his disease was already in full possession of him, having developed into a quick consumption and an acute catarrh. He did not, however, give up, but had strength left for his conflicts at home, so that he won a very great victory, slew a prodigious number of the Barbarians, and died gloriously, having broken a blood-vessel (as it is likely, and as Phylarchus says) by the very shout that he raised on the field of battle. And in the schools of philosophy one used to hear the story that after his victory he shouted for joy, "O happy day!" and then brought up a quantity of blood, fell into a high fever, and so died. So much concerning Antigonus.

XXXI. As for Cleomenes, he sailed from Cythera to Aegialia, another island, and put in there. As he was about to cross from thence to Cyrene, one of his friends, Therycion by name, a man who brought a large spirit to the conduct of affairs and was always somewhat lofty in his speech and grandiloquent, came to him privately and said: "The noblest death, O King, a death in battle, we have put away from us; and yet all men heard us declare that Antigonus should not pass the king of Sparta except over his dead body. But a death that is second in virtue and glory is now still in our power. Whither do we

[1] As they were before the reforms of Cleomenes.

ἀποφεύγοντες ἐγγὺς ὃν κακὸν καὶ μακρὰν διώκοντες; εἰ γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐστι δουλεύειν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, πλοῦν πολὺν κερδανοῦμεν Ἀντιγόνῳ παραδόντες ἑαυτούς, ὃν εἰκός ἐστι Πτολεμαίου διαφέρειν
3 ὅσον Αἰγυπτίων Μακεδόνας. εἰ δὲ ὑφ' ὧν κεκρατήμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἄρχεσθαι, τί τὸν μὴ νενικηκότα δεσπότην ποιοῦμεν αὑτῶν, ἵνα ἀνθ' ἑνὸς δυεῖν κακίους φανῶμεν, Ἀντίγονον μὲν φεύγοντες, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ κολακεύοντες; ἢ διὰ τὴν μητέρα φήσομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἥκειν; καλὸν μεντἂν αὐτῇ θέαμα γένοιο καὶ ζηλωτὸν ἐπιδεικνυμένῃ ταῖς Πτολεμαίου γυναιξὶν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκ
4 βασιλέως καὶ φυγάδα τὸν υἱόν. οὐχ ἕως ἔτι τῶν ἰδίων ξιφῶν ἄρχομεν καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀφορῶμεν, ἐνταῦθα τῆς τύχης ἀπαλλάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολογησόμεθα τοῖς ἐν Σελασίᾳ κειμένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθεδούμεθα πυνθανόμενοι τίνα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος σατράπην Ἀντίγονος ἀπολέλοιπε;"

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Θηρυκίωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Κλεομένης ἀπεκρίνατο, "Τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ ῥᾷστον, ὦ πονηρέ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν ἑτοίμῳ διώκων, ἀποθανεῖν, ἀνδρεῖος εἶναι δοκεῖς, φεύγων αἰσχίονα
5 φυγὴν τῆς πρότερον; πολεμίοις μὲν γὰρ ἐνέδωκαν ἤδη καὶ κρείττονες ἡμῶν, ἢ τύχῃ σφαλέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ πλήθους· ὁ δὲ πρὸς πόνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἢ ψόγους καὶ δόξας ἀνθρώπων ἀπα-

unreasoningly sail, fleeing an evil that is near and pursuing one that is afar off? For if it is not shameful that the descendants of Heracles should be in subjection to the successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall spare ourselves a long voyage by surrendering to Antigonus, who is likely to surpass Ptolemy as much as Macedonians surpass Egyptians. But if we cannot consent to be ruled by those who have conquered us in arms, why should we make him our master who has not defeated us, thus showing ourselves inferior to two instead of one by running away from Antigonus and joining the flatterers of Ptolemy? Or, shall we say that it is on thy mother's account that we come to Egypt? Surely thou wilt make a noble spectacle for her, and one to awaken envy, when she displays her son to the wives of Ptolemy, a captive instead of a king, and a runaway. Let us rather, while we are still masters of our own swords and can gaze upon the land of Laconia, here rid ourselves of Fortune's yoke, and make our peace with those who at Sellasia died in defence of Sparta, instead of sitting idly down in Egypt and asking every now and then whom Antigonus has left as satrap of Lacedaemon."

Such were the words of Therycion, and to them Cleomenes replied: "It is the easiest possible step thou urgest, wretched man, and one that any man may take, this dying; and dost thou think thyself brave when thou art making a flight more shameful than the one preceding it? Better men than we have given in to their enemies before this, having been betrayed by Fortune or overwhelmed by numbers. But he who in the face of toils and hardships, or of the censorious judgments of men, gives up the fight,

γορεύων ἡττᾶται τῆς αὑτοῦ μαλακίας. δεῖ γὰρ
τὸν αὐθαίρετον θάνατον οὐ φυγὴν εἶναι πράξεων,
ἀλλὰ πρᾶξιν. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ καὶ ζῆν[1] μόνοις
ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν· ἐφ' ὃ νῦν σὺ παρακα- 820
λεῖς ἡμᾶς, σπεύδων ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν παρόντων,
καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρήσιμον ἄλλο διαπραττό-
6 μενος. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν οἴομαι δεῖν
τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας μὴ καταλιπεῖν·
ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖναι καταλίπωσι, ῥᾴστα βου-
λομένοις ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρξει."

Πρὸς ταῦτα Θηρυκίων οὐδὲν ἀντειπών, ὅτε
πρῶτον ἔσχε καιρὸν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ Κλεομένους,
ἐκτραπόμενος παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτόν.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγιαλῶν
ἀναχθεὶς τῇ Λιβύῃ προσέβαλε, καὶ διὰ τῶν βασι-
λικῶν παραπεμπόμενος ἧκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
ὀφθεὶς δὲ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐτύγχανε
κοινῶς φιλανθρώπου καὶ μετρίου πρὸς αὐτόν·
ἐπεὶ δὲ γνώμης διδοὺς πεῖραν ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο
ἔμφρων, καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ
Λακωνικὸν καὶ ἀφελὲς τὴν χάριν ἐλευθέριον εἶχε,
καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐδαμῇ καταισχύνων οὐδὲ
καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν
καὶ κολακείαν διαλεγομένων πιθανώτερος ἐφαί-
2 νετο, πολλὴ μὲν αἰδὼς καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Πτολε-
μαῖον εἶχεν ἀνδρὸς ἀμελήσαντα τοιούτου καὶ
προέμενον τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, δόξαν ἅμα κεκτημένῳ
τηλικαύτην καὶ δύναμιν, ἀναλαμβάνων δὲ τιμαῖς
καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τὸν Κλεομένη παρεθάρρυνεν
ὡς μετὰ νεῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀποστελῶν αὐτὸν
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ καταστήσων εἰς τὴν βασι-

[1] καὶ ζῆν Blass and Ziegler, after Richards.

is vanquished by his own weakness. For a self-inflicted death ought to be, not flight from action, but an action in itself. For it is shameful to die, as well as to live, for one's self alone. And yet it is to this that thou now invitest me in thine eagerness to be rid of present troubles, though beyond that thou wilt effect nothing that is honourable or useful. I, however, think it right that neither thou nor I should abandon our hopes for our country; when these abandon us, death will be very easy if we wish it."

To this Therycion made no reply, but as soon as he got an opportunity to leave Cleomenes, he turned aside along the sea-beach and slew himself.

XXXII. But Cleomenes, putting to sea from Aegialia, landed in Libya, and under the escort of the royal officials came to Alexandria. After coming into the presence of Ptolemy, at first he met with only ordinary and moderate kindness from him; but when he had given proof of his sentiments and shown himself to be a man of good sense, and when, in his daily intercourse, his Laconian simplicity retained the charm which a free spirit imparts, while he in no wise brought shame upon his noble birth or suffered the blows of Fortune to bow him down, but showed himself more winning than those whose conversation sought only to please and flatter, then Ptolemy was filled with great respect for him, and deeply repented that he had neglected such a man and abandoned him to Antigonus, who had thereby won great glory and power. Ptolemy therefore sought to regain Cleomenes by honours and kindnesses, and kept encouraging him with assurances that he would send him back to Greece with ships and treasure and restore

3 λείαν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν αὐτῷ τέσσαρα καὶ
εἴκοσι τάλαντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. ἀφ' ὧν
ἐκεῖνος αὑτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὐτελῶς καὶ σω-
φρόνως διοικῶν, τὰ πλεῖστα κατανήλισκεν εἰς
φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μεταδόσεις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά-
δος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκπεπτωκότων.

XXXIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος
πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι τῷ Κλεομένει τὴν ἔκπεμψιν ἐτε-
λεύτησε· τῆς δὲ βασιλείας εὐθὺς εἰς πολλὴν
ἀσέλγειαν καὶ παροινίαν καὶ γυναικοκρατίαν
2 ἐμπεσούσης ἠμελεῖτο καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς οὕτω διέφθαρτο τὴν
ψυχὴν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν καὶ πότων ὥστε, ὁπότε
νήφος μάλιστα καὶ σπουδαιότατος αὑτοῦ γένοιτο,
τελετὰς τελεῖν καὶ τύμπανον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς βασι-
λείοις ἀγείρειν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πράγ-
ματα διοικεῖν Ἀγαθόκλειαν τὴν ἐρωμένην τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ταύτης μητέρα καὶ πορνοβοσκὸν
3 Οἰνάνθην. ὅμως δ' οὖν ἔδοξέ τις ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τοῦ
Κλεομένους χρεία γεγονέναι. δεδιὼς γὰρ Μάγαν
τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἰσχύοντα διὰ τῆς
μητρὸς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ, τὸν Κλεομένη προσ-
ελάμβανε καὶ μετεδίδου τῶν ἀπορρήτων συνεδρίων,
βουλευόμενος ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ
ἁπάντων τοῦτο πράττειν κελευόντων, μόνος ἀπη-
γόρευσεν, εἰπὼν ὡς μᾶλλον, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδει
φῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείονας ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς ἀσφά-
4 λειαν καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν πραγμάτων. Σωσιβίου
δὲ τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς φίλοις δυναμένου φήσαντος
οὐκ εἶναι τὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων αὐτοῖς βέβαια τοῦ
Μάγα ζῶντος, ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κλεομένης

him to his kingdom. He also gave him an annual pension of twenty-four talents. With this money Cleomenes maintained himself and his friends in a simple and modest manner, and spent the greater part in good offices and contributions to the refugees from Greece who were in Egypt.

XXXIII. Well, then, the elder Ptolemy[1] died before sending Cleomenes off as he had promised; and since the court at once plunged into excessive wantonness and drunkenness, and women wielded the power, the affairs of Cleomenes were neglected. For the king himself was so corrupted in spirit by wine and women that, in his soberest and most serious moments, he would celebrate religious rites and head processions in his palace, timbrel in hand, while the most important affairs of the government were managed by Agathocleia, the mistress of the king, her mother, and a pimp, Oenanthe. But in spite of all this, at the outset Cleomenes seemed to be of some use. For Ptolemy was afraid of his brother Magas, believing that Magas had a strong following among the soldiers owing to his mother's influence, and he therefore took Cleomenes into his following and gave him a place in his privy council, all the while plotting to kill his brother. But Cleomenes, although all other counsellors urged the king to take this step, alone advised against it, saying that it were better, were it possible, to get the king more brothers to increase the security and stability of his affairs. And when Sosibius, who had the most influence among the king's ministers, declared that they could not be sure of the mercenaries as long as Magas was alive, Cleomenes bade him have no concern on that

[1] Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, died in 220 B.C., and was followed by Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator.

ἕνεκά γε τούτου· πλείους γὰρ ἢ τρισχιλίους τῶν
ξένων εἶναι Πελοποννησίους προσέχοντας αὐτῷ,
κἂν μόνον νεύσῃ, προθύμως μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων
5 παρεσομένους. οὗτος ὁ λόγος τότε μὲν οὐ μικρὰν
τῷ Κλεομένει καὶ πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ δόκησιν
ἰσχύος προσέθηκεν, ὕστερον δέ, τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιτεινούσης τὴν δειλίαν, καὶ καθ-
άπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τῷ μηδὲν φρονεῖν, τοῦ πάντα
δεδοικέναι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπιστεῖν ἀσφαλεστάτου
δοκοῦντος εἶναι, φοβερὸν ἐποίει τὸν Κλεομένη τοῖς
6 αὐλικοῖς, ὡς ἰσχύοντα παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις· καὶ
πολλῶν ἦν ἀκούειν λεγόντων ὅτι "Οὗτος ὁ λέων
ἐν τούτοις τοῖς προβάτοις ἀναστρέφεται." τῷ
γὰρ ὄντι τοιοῦτον διέφαινεν ἦθος ἐν τοῖς βασι-
λικοῖς, ὑποβλέπων ἀτρέμα καὶ παρεπισκοπῶν τὰ 821
πραττόμενα.

XXXIV. Ναῦς μὲν οὖν αἰτῶν καὶ στρατιὰν
ἀπεῖπε· πυνθανόμενος δὲ τεθνάναι τὸν Ἀντί-
γονον, Αἰτωλικῷ δὲ πολέμῳ συμπεπλέχθαι τοὺς
Ἀχαιούς, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ
παρακαλεῖν,[1] ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ διασπασμῷ τῆς
Πελοποννήσου γεγενημένης, ἠξίου μὲν μόνος ἀπο-
2 σταλῆναι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἔπειθε δὲ οὐδένα, τοῦ
μὲν βασιλέως οὐκ εἰσακούοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν γυναιξὶ
καὶ θιάσοις καὶ κώμοις συνέχοντος ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ
τῶν ὅλων προεστηκὼς καὶ προβουλεύων Σωσί-
βιος μένοντα μὲν τὸν Κλεομένη παρὰ γνώμην
ἡγεῖτο δυσμεταχείριστον εἶναι καὶ φοβερόν, ἀφε-
θέντα δὲ τολμηρόν, ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας νοσούσης θεατὴν γεγενημένον.

[1] παρακαλεῖν Ziegler; παρακαλεῖν ἐκεῖσε Bekker: παρα-
καλεῖν ἐκεῖνον (with the MSS.).

point at least; for more than three thousand of the mercenaries were Peloponnesians and attached to himself, and if he but gave them a nod they would readily come to his side in arms. At the time this speech won for Cleomenes no little faith in his good will and belief in his strength; but afterwards, when Ptolemy's weakness intensified his cowardice, and, as is wont to happen where there is no sound judgment, his best course seemed to him to lie in fearing everybody and distrusting all men, it led the courtiers to be afraid of Cleomenes, on the ground that he had a strong following among the mercenaries; and many of them were heard to say: "There goes the lion up and down among these sheep." And such, in fact, he clearly was among the courtiers, eyeing with quiet contempt and closly watching what was going on.

XXXIV. For ships, therefore, and an army, he gave up asking; but on learning that Antigonus was dead [1] and that the Achaeans were involved in a war with the Aetolians, and that affairs yearned and called for him now that Peloponnesus was rent asunder and in confusion, he demanded to be sent away with his friends merely; but he could persuade no one. The king would not give him a hearing, but was absorbed with women and Dionysiac routs and revels; and Sosibius, the prime minister and chief counsellor, thought that if Cleomenes remained against his will he might be hard to manage, indeed, and an object of fear, but that if he were sent away he would make some bold attempt, being a man of large undertakings, and one who had been an eye-witness of the distempers of the realm.

[1] Cf. chapter xxx. 2.

3 οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ δωρεαὶ κατεπράϋνον αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸν Ἆπιν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διαιτώμενον καὶ τρυφᾶν δοκοῦντα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου καὶ δρόμων ἀφέτων καὶ σκιρτήσεων ἵμερος ἔχει, καὶ δῆλός ἐστι δυσανασχετῶν τὴν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ἱερέων διατριβήν, οὕτως ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τῶν μαλθακῶν,

ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ,

ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλεύς,

αὖθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' ἀϋτήν τε πτόλεμόν τε.

XXXV. Τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ὄντων πραγμάτων ἀφικνεῖται Νικαγόρας ὁ Μεσσήνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀνὴρ μισῶν μὲν τὸν Κλεομένη, προσποιούμενος δὲ φίλος εἶναι· χωρίον δέ ποτε καλὸν αὐτῷ πεπρακὼς καὶ δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ πολέμους οὐκ ἀπειληφὼς τὸ ἀργύριον. τοῦτον οὖν ἐκβαίνοντα τότε τῆς ὁλκάδος ἰδὼν ὁ Κλεομένης (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ κρηπῖδι τοῦ λιμένος περιπατῶν) ἠσπάζετο προθύμως καὶ τίς αὐτὸν
2 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄγοι πρόφασις ἠρώτα. τοῦ δὲ Νικαγόρου φιλοφρόνως ἀντασπαζομένου καὶ φήσαντος ἵππους ἄγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, γελάσας ὁ Κλεομένης, "Ἐβουλόμην ἄν," ἔφη, "σε μᾶλλον ἥκειν ἄγοντα σαμβυκιστρίας καὶ κιναίδους· ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν μάλιστα κατεπείγει τὸν βασιλέα." καὶ ὁ Νικαγόρας τότε μὲν ἐμειδίασεν· ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον ὀλίγαις ὑπομνήσας τοῦ χωρίου τὸν Κλεομένην νῦν γοῦν ἐδεῖτο τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνοχλήσας,

For not even gifts would soften him, but just as the sacred bull Apis, though living in plenty and believed to be having a luxurious time, feels a desire for the life that was his by nature, for coursings without restraint, and leaps and bounds, and is manifestly disgusted with his treatment at the hands of the priests, so Cleomenes took no pleasure in his life of ease and luxury,

—"but kept pining away in his dear heart,"

like Achilles,[1]

"As he lingered there, and kept yearning for war-cry and battle."

XXXV. While matters stood thus with him, Nicagoras the Messenian came to Alexandria, a man who hated Cleomenes, but pretended to be a friend. He had at one time sold Cleomenes a fine estate, and owing to the constant demands of war upon the king, as it would seem, had not received the money for it. And so now, when Cleomenes, who chanced to be taking a walk along the quay, saw Nicagoras landing from his vessel, he greeted him heartily and asked what errand brought him to Egypt. Nicagoras returned his greeting in a friendly manner, and said that he was bringing horses for the king, some fine ones for use in war. At this, Cleomenes gave a laugh and said: "I could wish that thou hadst rather brought sambuca-girls and catamites; for these now most interest the king." At the time Nicagoras merely smiled; but a few days later he reminded Cleomenes of the estate, and asked that now at any rate he might get the money for it, saying that he would not have troubled him about the matter if he had not

[1] *Iliad*, i. 491 f.

εἰ μὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν φορτίων διάθεσιν μετρίως[1]
3 ἐζημιοῦτο. τοῦ δὲ Κλεομένους φήσαντος οὐδὲν
αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τῶν δεδομένων, λυπηθεὶς ὁ Νικα-
γόρας ἐκφέρει τῷ Σωσιβίῳ τὸ σκῶμμα τοῦ Κλεο-
μένους. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀσμένως ἔλαβεν, ἐκ
δὲ μείζονος αἰτίας τὸν βασιλέα παροξῦναι ζητῶν
ἔπεισε τὸν Νικαγόραν ἐπιστολὴν γράψαντα κατὰ
τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀπολιπεῖν, ὡς ἐγνωκότος, εἰ
λάβοι τριήρεις καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτοῦ, Κυ-
4 ρήνην κατασχεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικαγόρας ταῦτα
γράψας ἀπέπλευσε· τοῦ δὲ Σωσιβίου μετὰ τέσ-
σαρας ἡμέρας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Πτολε-
μαῖον ἀνενεγκόντος ὡς ἀρτίως αὐτῷ δεδομένην καὶ
παροξύναντος τὸ μειράκιον, ἔδοξεν εἰς οἰκίαν
μεγάλην εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην ὁμοίως παρέχοντας δίαιταν ἐξόδων εἴργειν.

XXXVI. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα λυπηρὰ τῷ
Κλεομένει, μοχθηροτέρας δὲ τὰς περὶ τοῦ μέλ-
λοντος ἐλπίδας ἔσχεν ἐκ τοιαύτης συντυχίας.
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Χρυσέρμου φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως
πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιεικῶς διείλεκτο τῷ Κλεο-
μένει, καὶ συνήθειά τις ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρ-
2 ρησία πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὗτος οὖν τότε, τοῦ
Κλεομένους δεηθέντος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦλθε
μὲν καὶ διελέχθη μέτρια, τὸ ὕποπτον ἐξαιρῶν καὶ
περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολογούμενος· ἀπιὼν δὲ
πάλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ μὴ προνοήσας ἐξόπισθεν
ἄχρι τῶν θυρῶν ἐπακολουθοῦντα τὸν Κλεομένη,
πικρῶς ἐπετίμησε τοῖς φύλαξιν ὡς δὴ μέγα
θηρίον καὶ δυστήρητον ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσι καὶ 822

[1] μετρίως Bekker and Blass correct to οὐ μετρίως, after Reiske.

met with a considerable loss in the disposition of his cargo; and when Cleomenes declared that he had nothing left of the moneys that had been given him, Nicagoras was vexed, and reported to Sosibius the pleasantry of Cleomenes. Sosibius was glad to get even this matter, but he desired to have some larger accusation with which to exasperate the king, and therefore persuaded Nicagoras to write and leave behind him a letter accusing Cleomenes of planning, in case he got triremes and soldiers from Ptolemy, to seize Cyrene. So Nicagoras wrote a letter to this effect and sailed away; and Sosibius, after four days had passed, brought the letter to Ptolemy, pretending that he had just received it, and so exasperated the young man that it was decided to remove Cleomenes into a large house, and while treating him in other ways just as before, to prevent his egress.

XXXVI. Even this usage was grievous to Cleomenes, but his hopes for the future received a greater shock from the following incident. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, a friend of King Ptolemy, had all the while been on friendly terms with Cleomenes, and they were quite intimate and outspoken with one another. This Ptolemy, then, now that Cleomenes begged a visit from him, came and conversed in a reasonable way with him, seeking to remove his suspicions and excusing the conduct of the king; but when he was leaving the house and did not perceive that Cleomenes was following on behind him as far as the doors, he bitterly reproached the guards for the careless and easy watch they kept upon a great wild beast that was so hard to keep.

3 ῥᾳθύμως. τούτων ὁ Κλεομένης αὐτήκοος γενόμενος, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀναχωρήσας ἔφρασε τοῖς φίλοις. εὐθὺς οὖν παντες ἃς πρότερον εἶχον ἐλπίδας ἐκβαλόντες, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐβουλεύσαντο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀμυνάμενοι καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ὥσπερ ἱερεῖα πιαν-
4 θέντας κατακοπῆναι· δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ἄνδρα πολεμιστὴν καὶ δραστήριον, διαλύσεις ὑπεριδὼν Κλεομένης κάθηται μητραγύρτου βασιλέως σχολὴν ἀναμένων, ὅταν πρῶτον ἀπόθηται τὸ τύμπανον καὶ καταπαύσῃ τὸν θίασον, ἀποκτενοῦντος αὐτόν.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς Κάνωβον ἐξώρμησε, πρῶτον μὲν διέδωκαν λόγον ὡς παραλύοιτο τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἔπειτα ἔκ τινος ἔθους βασιλικοῦ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐξ εἱρκτῆς ἀπολύεσθαι δείπνου τε πεμπομένου καὶ ξενίων, οἱ φίλοι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ Κλεομένει παρασκευάσαντες ἔξωθεν εἰσέπεμψαν, ἐξαπατῶντες τοὺς φύλακας οἰομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεστάλ-
2 θαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔθυε καὶ μετεδίδου τούτων ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπιτιθεὶς στεφάνους καὶ κατακλιθεὶς εἱστιᾶτο μετὰ τῶν φίλων. λέγεται δὲ τάχιον ἢ διεγνώκει πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὁρμῆσαι, συναισθόμενος οἰκέτην ἕνα τῶν συνειδότων τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔξω παρὰ γυναικὶ κεκοιμημένον ἧς ἤρα. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μήνυσιν, ἐπειδὴ μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ᾔσθετο καθεύδοντας ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ῥαφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ

Cleomenes heard this with his own ears, and without Ptolemy's being aware of his presence went back and told his friends. At once, then, they all abandoned the hopes they had been cherishing and wrathfully determined to avenge themselves on Ptolemy for his injustice and insolence, and die in a manner worthy of Sparta, instead of waiting like sacrificial victims to be first fattened and then smitten down. For it was an intolerable thing that Cleomenes, after scorning to come to terms with Antigonus, a man who fought well and wrought much, should sit idly down and await the leisure of a beggarly priest of a king, who, as soon as he could lay aside his timbrel and stop his dancing, would slay him.

XXXVII. Such being their resolve, and Ptolemy, as chance would have it, making a visit to Canopus, in the first place word was sent about that Cleomenes had been set free by the king; and next, in view of a custom which the king had of sending presents and a banquet to those who were going to be released from imprisonment, the friends of Cleomenes in the city prepared and sent in to him an abundance of such things, thus completely deceiving the guards, who thought the king had sent them. For Cleomenes made a sacrifice and gave the guards a bountiful share of his provisions, and then took his place at table with garlands on his head and feasted with his friends. We are told, too, that he set out upon his enterprise sooner than he had intended, because he learned that a slave who was privy to it had passed the night outside in company with a mistress. So fearing that his plans would be revealed, when noon came and he perceived that his guards were sleeping off their wine, he put on his tunic, opened the seam

παραλυσάμενος ὦμου, γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει μετὰ τῶν
φίλων ἐξεπήδησεν ἐνεσκευασμένων ὁμοίως, δεκα-
3 τριῶν ὄντων. Ἱππίτας δὲ χωλὸς ὢν τῇ μὲν
πρώτῃ συνεξέπεσεν ὁρμῇ προθύμως, ὡς δὲ ἑώρα
σχολαίτερον πορευομένους δι' αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσεν
ἀνελεῖν καὶ μὴ διαφθείρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἄχρηστον
ἄνθρωπον περιμένοντας. ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξαν-
δρέων τις ἵππον ἄγων παρὰ τὰς θύρας· τοῦτον
ἀφελόμενοι καὶ τὸν Ἱππίταν ἀναβαλόντες, ἐφέ-
ροντο δρόμῳ διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ παρεκάλουν
4 τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. τοῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον,
ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλκῆς μετῆν ὅσον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ θαυμά-
ζειν τὴν τοῦ Κλεομένους τόλμαν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ
καὶ βοηθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Χρυσέρμου Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς
αὐλῆς ἐξιόντα τρεῖς εὐθὺς προσπεσόντες ἀπέ-
κτειναν· ἑτέρου δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φυλάσσοντος
τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνοντος ἅρματι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὁρμή-
σαντες ἐναντίοι τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας καὶ δορυφόρους
διεσκέδασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
5 ἅρματος ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἐχώ-
ρουν, ἀναρρῆξαι διανοούμενοι τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ
χρήσασθαι τῷ πλήθει τῶν δεδεμένων. ἔφθασαν
δὲ φραξάμενοι καλῶς οἱ φύλακες, ὥστε καὶ
ταύτης ἀποκρουσθέντα τῆς πείρας τὸν Κλεομένη
διαφέρεσθαι καὶ πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,
οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ προσχωροῦντος, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων
6 καὶ φοβουμένων ἁπάντων. οὕτως οὖν ἀποστὰς
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπών, "Οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα
θαυμαστὸν ἄρχειν γυναῖκας ἀνθρώπων φευγόντων
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν," παρεκάλεσε πάντας ἀξίως αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων τελευτᾶν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν

over his right shoulder, and with drawn sword sprang forth, accompanied by his friends, who were likewise arrayed, thirteen in number. Hippitas, who was lame, joined in making the first onset with all his soul, but when he saw that he was a hindrance to the progress of his companions, he bade them kill him, and not ruin the enterprise by waiting for a useless fellow. As it chanced, however, an Alexandrian was leading a horse past the doors, so they seized the animal, put Hippitas on its back, and then rushed at full speed through the narrow streets of the city, summoning the throng to win their freedom. These had enough courage, as it would seem, to admire and praise the daring of Cleomenes, but not a man was bold enough to follow and help him.

Well, then, as Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus was coming out of the palace, three of them straightway fell upon him and slew him; and as another Ptolemy, who had the city in his charge, was driving towards them in a chariot, they rushed to meet him, scattered his servants and mercenaries, dragged him from his chariot, and slew him. Then they proceeded to the citadel, purposing to break open the prison and avail themselves of the multitude of prisoners. But the guards were too quick for them and barred the way securely, so that Cleomenes, baffled in this attempt also, roamed up and down through the city, not a man joining with him but everybody filled with fear and flying from him. So, then, he desisted from his attempt, and saying to his friends, "It is no wonder, after all, that women rule over men who run away from freedom," he called upon them all to die in a manner worthy of their king and their past achievements. So Hippitas first, at

Ἱππίτας ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων τινὸς ἐπλήγη δεηθείς,
ἔπειτα τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος εὐκόλως καὶ ἀδεῶς
ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττει, πλὴν Παντέως τοῦ πρώτου
7 Μεγάλην πόλιν καταλαβόντος. τοῦτον δὲ κάλ-
λιστον ὥρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν εὐφυέστατον
τῶν νέων γενόμενον ἐρώμενον ἐσχηκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἴδῃ
πεπτωκότας, οὕτω τελευτᾶν. ἤδη δὲ κειμένων 823
ἁπάντων ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁ Παντεὺς καὶ τῷ ξιφι-
δίῳ παραπτόμενος καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπεπειρᾶτο μή
τις διαλανθάνοι ζῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Κλεομένη
νύξας παρὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἶδε συστρέψαντα τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον, ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν, εἶτα παρεκάθισε· καὶ
τέλος ἔχοντος ἤδη περιβαλὼν τὸν νεκρὸν ἑαυτὸν
ἐπικατέσφαξε.

XXXVIII. Κλεομένης μὲν οὖν ἑκκαίδεκα τῆς
Σπάρτης βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ γε-
νόμενος οὕτω κατέστρεψε. τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς τὴν
πόλιν ὅλην σκεδασθείσης ἡ μὲν Κρατησίκλεια,
καίπερ οὖσα γενναία γυνή, προὔδωκε τὸ φρόνημα
πρὸς τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος, καὶ περιβαλοῦσα
2 τὰ παιδία τοῦ Κλεομένους ὠλοφύρετο. τῶν δὲ
παιδίων τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἀποπηδῆσαν, οὐδενὸς
ἂν προσδοκήσαντος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν
ἔρριψεν ἑαυτό· καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἀπέ-
θανεν, ἀλλ' ἤρθη βοῶν καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ
διακωλύεσθαι τελευτᾶν.

Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἔγνω ταῦτα, προσέταξε
τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένους κρεμάσαι κατα-
βυρσώσαντας, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τὰ παιδία καὶ τὴν
3 μητέρα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν γυναῖκας. ἐν δὲ

his own request, was smitten down by one of the younger men, then each of the others calmly and cheerfully slew himself, except Panteus, the man who led the way in the capture of Megalopolis.[1] He had once been the king's favourite, because in his youth he was most fair, and in his young manhood most amenable to the Spartan discipline; and now his orders were to wait until the king and the rest of the band were dead, and then to die himself. At last all the rest lay prostrate on the ground, and Panteus, going up to each one in turn and pricking him with his sword, sought to discover whether any spark of life remained. When he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle and saw that his face twitched, he kissed him, and then sat down by his side; at last the end came, and after embracing the king's dead body, he slew himself upon it.

XXXVIII. Such, then, was the end of Cleomenes, who had been for sixteen years king of Sparta, and had shown himself the man whom I have described. The report of his death spread over the entire city, and Cratesicleia, although she was a woman of noble spirit, lost her composure in view of the magnitude of her misfortunes, and throwing her arms about the children of Cleomenes, wailed and lamented. But the elder of the two boys, forestalling all prevention, sprang away and threw himself headlong from the roof; he was badly injured, but did not die, and was taken up crying out resentfully because he was not permitted to end his life.

But Ptolemy, when he learned of these things, gave orders that the body of Cleomenes should be flayed and hung up, and that his children, his mother, and the women that were with her, should be killed.

[1] See chapter xxiii. 4.

ταύταις ἦν καὶ Παντέως γυνὴ καλλίστη καὶ γενναιοτάτη τὸ εἶδος. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς νεογάμοις οὖσιν ἐν ἀκμαῖς ἐρώτων αἱ τύχαι συνέβησαν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν συνεκπλεῦσαι τῷ Παντεῖ βουλομένην αὐτὴν οὐκ εἴασαν οἱ γονεῖς, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ κατακλεί-
4 σαντες ἐφύλαττον· ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἵππον ἑαυτῇ παρασκευάσασα καὶ χρυσίδιον οὐ πολὺ νυκτὸς ἀπέδρα, καὶ διώξασα συντόνως ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐκεῖθεν ἐπέβη νεὼς εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεούσης· καὶ διεκομίσθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συνδιήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἐπὶ ξένης βίον ἀλύπως καὶ ἱλαρῶς. αὕτη τότε τὴν Κρατησίκλειαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξαγομένην ἐχειραγώγει, τόν τε πέπλον αὐτῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσα, καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλοῦσα μηδέν τι μηδ' αὐτὴν ἐκπεπληγμένην τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἓν μόνον αἰτουμένην, πρὸ τῶν
5 παιδίων ἀποθανεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα δρᾶν εἰώθεσαν οἱ ὑπηρέται, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ παιδία, τῆς Κρατησικλείας ὁρώσης, ἔσφαττον, εἶτα ἐκείνην, ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις φθεγξαμένην πάθεσιν, "Ὦ τέκνα, ποῖ ἐμόλετε"; ἡ δὲ Παντέως γυνή, περιζωσαμένη τὸ ἱμάτιον, εὔρωστος οὖσα καὶ μεγάλη τῶν ἀποθνησκουσῶν ἑκάστην σιωπῇ καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἐθεράπευε καὶ περιέστελλεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων.
6 τέλος δὲ μετὰ πάσας ἑαυτὴν κοσμήσασα, καὶ καταγαγοῦσα τὴν περιβολήν, καὶ μηδένα προσελθεῖν ἐάσασα μηδὲ ἰδεῖν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς σφαγῆς τεταγμένον, ἡρωϊκῶς κατέστρεψεν, οὐδενὸς δεηθεῖσα κοσμοῦντος καὶ περικαλύπτοντος μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. οὕτω παρέμεινε τῷ θανάτῳ τὸ κόσμιον τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἣν ζῶσα φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι περιέθηκεν.

Among these women was the wife of Panteus, most noble and beautiful to look upon. The pair were still but lately married, and their misfortunes came upon them in the hey-day of their love. Her parents, indeed, would not permit her to sail away with Panteus immediately, although she wished to do so, but shut her up and kept her under constraint; a little later, however, she procured herself a horse and a small sum of money, ran away by night, made all speed to Taenarum, and there embarked upon a ship bound for Egypt. She was conveyed to her husband, and with him bore their life in a strange land without complaint and cheerfully. She it was who now took the hand of Cratesicleia as she was led forth by the soldiers, held up her robe for her, and bade her be of good courage. And Cratesicleia herself was not one whit dismayed at death, but asked one favour only, that she might die before the children died. However, when they were come to the place of execution, first the children were slain before her eyes, and then Cratesicleia herself was slain, making but this one cry at sorrows so great: "O children, whither are ye gone?" Then the wife of Panteus, girding up her robe, vigorous and stately woman that she was, ministered to each of the dying women calmly and without a word, and laid them out for burial as well as she could. And finally, after all were cared for, she arrayed herself, let down her robes from about her neck, and suffering no one besides the executioner to come near or look upon her, bravely met her end, and had no need of anyone to array or cover up her body after death. Thus her decorum of spirit attended her in death, and she maintained to the end that watchful care of her body which she had set over it in life.

XXXIX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαίμων, ἐφαμίλλως
ἀγωνισαμένη τῷ γυναικείῳ δράματι πρὸς τὸ ἀν-
δρεῖον, ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς ἐπέδειξε τὴν
ἀρετὴν ὑβρισθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης.
ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις οἱ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κλεο-
μένους ἀνεσταυρωμένον παραφυλάττοντες εἶδον
εὐμεγέθη δράκοντα τῇ κεφαλῇ περιπεπλεγμένον
καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥστε μηδὲν
2 ὄρνεον ἐφίπτασθαι σαρκοφάγον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
δεισιδαιμονία προσέπεσε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ φόβος,
ἄλλων καθαρμῶν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀρχὴν παρασχών,
ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀνῃρημένου θεοφιλοῦς καὶ κρείττονος
τὴν φύσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ προσετρέ-
ποντο φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἥρωα τὸν Κλεο-
μένη καὶ θεῶν παῖδα προσαγορεύοντες, ἄχρι οὗ
3 κατέπαυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ σοφώτεροι, διδόντες λόγον
ὡς μελίττας μὲν βόες, σφῆκας δὲ ἵπποι κατα- 824
σαπέντες ἐξανθοῦσι, κάνθαροι δὲ ὄνων τὸ αὐτὸ
παθόντων ζωογονοῦνται, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα σώ-
ματα, τῶν περὶ τὸν μυελὸν ἰχώρων συρροήν τινα
καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λαβόντων, ὄφεις ἀνα-
δίδωσι. καὶ τοῦτο κατιδόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα
τῶν ζῴων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνῳκείωσαν.

XXXIX. So, then, Sparta, bringing her women's tragedy into emulous competition with that of her men, showed the world that in the last extremity Virtue cannot be outraged by Fortune. And a few days afterwards those who were keeping watch upon the body of Cleomenes where it hung, saw a serpent of great size coiling itself about the head and hiding away the face so that no ravening bird of prey could light upon it. In consequence of this, the king was seized with superstitious fear, and thus gave the women occasion for various rites of purification, since they felt that a man had been taken off who was of a superior nature and beloved of the gods. And the Alexandrians actually worshipped him, coming frequently to the spot and addressing Cleomenes as a hero and a child of the gods; but at last the wiser men among them put a stop to this by explaining that, as putrefying oxen breed bees, and horses wasps, and as beetles are generated in asses which are in the like condition of decay, so human bodies, when the juices about the marrow collect together and coagulate, produce serpents. And it was because they observed this that the ancients associated the serpent more than any other animal with heroes.

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΓΡΑΓΧΟΙ

Τ. ΓΡΑΓΧΟΣ

I. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἱστορίαν ἀποδεδω-
κότες ἔχομεν οὐκ ἐλάττονα πάθη τούτων ἐν τῇ
Ῥωμαϊκῇ συζυγίᾳ θεωρῆσαι, τὸν Τιβερίου καὶ
Γαΐου βίον ἀντιπαραβάλλοντες. οὗτοι Τιβερίου
Γράγχου παῖδες ἦσαν, ᾧ τιμητῇ τε Ῥωμαίων
γενομένῳ καὶ δὶς ὑπατεύσαντι καὶ θριάμβους δύο
καταγαγόντι λαμπρότερον ἦν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς
2 ἀξίωμα. διὸ καὶ τὴν Σκηπίωνος τοῦ καταπολε-
μήσαντος Ἀννίβαν θυγατέρα Κορνηλίαν, οὐκ ὢν
φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διάφορος τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονώς,
λαβεῖν ἠξιώθη μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν. λέ-
γεται δέ ποτε συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης
ζεῦγος δρακόντων, τοὺς δὲ μάντεις σκεψαμένους
τὸ τέρας ἄμφω μὲν οὐκ ἐᾶν ἀνελεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφεῖναι,
περὶ δὲ θατέρου διαιρεῖν, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἄρρην τῷ
Τιβερίῳ φέροι θάνατον ἀναιρεθείς, ἡ δὲ θήλεια
3 τῇ Κορνηλίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Τιβέριον καὶ φιλοῦντα
τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ μᾶλλον αὑτῷ προσήκειν ὄντι
πρεσβυτέρῳ τελευτᾶν ἡγούμενον ἔτι νέας οὔσης
ἐκείνης, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα κτεῖναι τῶν δρακόντων,
ἀφεῖναι δὲ τὴν θήλειαν· εἶτα ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

I. Now that we have duly finished the first part of our story, we have to contemplate fates no less tragic than those of Agis and Cleomenes in the lives of the Roman couple, Tiberius and Caius, which we set in parallel. They were sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, although he had been censor at Rome, twice consul, and had celebrated two triumphs, derived his more illustrious dignity from his virtue. Therefore, after the death[1] of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal, although Tiberius had not been his friend, but actually at variance with him, he was judged worthy to take Scipio's daughter Cornelia in marriage. We are told, moreover, that he once caught a pair of serpents on his bed, and that the soothsayers, after considering the prodigy, forbade him to kill both serpents or to let both go, but to decide the fate of one or the other of them, declaring also that the male serpent, if killed, would bring death to Tiberius, and the female, to Cornelia. Tiberius, accordingly, who loved his wife, and thought that since she was still young and he was older it was more fitting that he should die, killed the male serpent, but let the female go. A short time afterwards, as the story

[1] In 183 B.C.

χρόνῳ τελευτῆσαι, δεκαδύο παῖδας ἐκ τῆς Κορνη-
λίας αὐτῷ γεγονότας καταλιπόντα.
4 Κορνηλία δὲ ἀναλαβοῦσα τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὸν
οἶκον, οὕτω σώφρονα καὶ φιλότεκνον καὶ μεγα-
λόψυχον αὑτὴν παρέσχεν ὥστε μὴ κακῶς δόξαι
βεβουλεῦσθαι τὸν Τιβέριον ἀντὶ τοιαύτης γυ-
ναικὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἑλόμενον, ἥ γε καὶ Πτολεμαίου
τοῦ βασιλέως κοινουμένου τὸ διάδημα καὶ μνω-
5 μένου τὸν γάμον αὐτῆς ἠρνήσατο, καὶ χηρεύουσα
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέβαλε παῖδας, μίαν δὲ τῶν
θυγατέρων, ἣ Σκηπίωνι τῷ νεωτέρῳ συνῴκησε,
καὶ δύο υἱούς, περὶ ὧν τάδε γέγραπται, Τιβέριον
καὶ Γάϊον, διαγενομένους οὕτω φιλοτίμως ἐξέ-
θρεψεν ὥστε πάντων εὐφυεστάτους Ῥωμαίων
ὁμολογουμένως γεγονότας πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκεῖν
βέλτιον ἢ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετήν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν πλασσομένων καὶ
γραφομένων Διοσκούρων ὁμοιότης ἔχει τινὰ τοῦ
πυκτικοῦ πρὸς τὸν δρομικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μορφῆς δια-
φοράν, οὕτω τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκείνων ἐν πολλῇ τῇ
πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ἐλευθεριό-
τητα καὶ λογιότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐμφερείᾳ
μεγάλαι περὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἷον
ἐξήνθησαν καὶ διεφάνησαν ἀνομοιότητες, οὐ
χεῖρον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ ταύτας προεκθέσθαι.
2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἰδέᾳ προσώπου καὶ βλέμματι
καὶ κινήματι πρᾷος καὶ καταστηματικὸς ἦν ὁ

goes, he died,[1] leaving Cornelia with twelve children by him.

Cornelia took charge of the children and of the estate, and showed herself so discreet, so good a mother, and so magnanimous, that Tiberius was thought to have made no bad decision when he elected to die instead of such a woman. For when Ptolemy[2] the king offered to share his crown with her and sought her hand in marriage, she refused him, and remained a widow. In this state she lost most of her children, but three survived; one daughter, who married Scipio the Younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives I now write. These sons Cornelia reared with such scrupulous care that although confessedly no other Romans were so well endowed by nature, they were thought to owe their virtues more to education than to nature.

II. Now, just as, in spite of the likeness between Castor and Pollux as they are represented in sculpture and painting, there is a certain difference of shape between the boxer and the runner, so in the case of these young Romans, along with their strong resemblance to one another in bravery and self-command, as well as in liberality, eloquence, and magnanimity, in their actions and political careers great unlikenesses blossomed out, as it were, and came to light. Therefore I think it not amiss to set these forth before going further.

In the first place, then, as regards cast of features and look and bearing, Tiberius was gentle and sedate,

[1] He was consul for the second time in 163 B.C. The year of his death is unknown. This story is told and commented on by Cicero in *De divinatione* i. 18, 36 ; ii. 29, 62.

[2] Probably Ptolemy VI., surnamed Philometor, king of Egypt 181–146 B.C.

Τιβέριος, ἔντονος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ Γάϊος, ὥστε
καὶ δημηγορεῖν τὸν μὲν ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ βεβηκότα
κοσμίως, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βή-
ματος περιπάτῳ τε χρήσασθαι καὶ περισπάσαι
τὴν τήβεννον ἐξ ὤμου λέγοντα, καθάπερ Κλέωνα 825
τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἱστόρηται περισπάσαι τε τὴν
περιβολὴν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀλοῆσαι πρῶτον τῶν
3 δημηγορούντων. ἔπειτα ὁ λόγος τοῦ μὲν Γαΐου
φοβερὸς καὶ περιπαθὴς εἰς δείνωσιν, ἡδίων δὲ ὁ
τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπαγωγὸς οἴκτου· τῇ
δὲ λέξει καθαρὸς καὶ διαπεπονημένος ἀκριβῶς
ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δὲ Γαΐου πιθανὸς καὶ γεγανωμένος.
οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ δίαιταν καὶ τράπεζαν εὐτελὴς
καὶ ἀφελὴς ὁ Τιβέριος, ὁ δὲ Γάϊος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
παραβαλεῖν σώφρων καὶ αὐστηρός, τῇ δὲ πρὸς
τὸν ἀδελφὸν διαφορᾷ νεοπρεπὴς καὶ περίεργος, ὡς
4 οἱ περὶ Δροῦσον ἤλεγχον ὅτι δελφῖνας[1] ἀργυροῦς
ἐπρίατο τιμῆς εἰς ἑκάστην λίτραν δραχμῶν χι-
λίων καὶ διακοσίων πεντήκοντα. τῷ δὲ ἤθει κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ λόγου διαφορὰν ὁ μὲν ἐπιεικὴς καὶ πρᾷος,
ὁ δὲ τραχὺς καὶ θυμοειδής, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ γνώ-
μην ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκφερόμενον πολλάκις ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς
τήν τε φωνὴν ἀποξύνειν καὶ βλασφημεῖν καὶ
5 συνταράττειν τὸν λόγον. ὅθεν καὶ βοήθημα τῆς
ἐκτροπῆς ἐποιήσατο ταύτης τὸν Λικίννιον, οἰκέτην
οὐκ ἀνόητον, ὃς ἔχων φωνασκικὸν ὄργανον, ᾧ τοὺς
φθόγγους ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ὄπισθεν ἑστὼς τοῦ
Γαΐου λέγοντος, ὁπηνίκα τραχυνόμενον αἴσθοιτο
τῇ φωνῇ καὶ παραρρηγνύμενον δι᾽ ὀργήν, ἐνεδίδου
τόνον μαλακόν, ᾧ τὸ σφοδρὸν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος ἅμα

[1] **δελφῖνας** Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, with the MSS.: **δέλφικας** (*Delphic tables*, or *tripods*), after Amyot.

while Caius was high-strung and vehement, so that even when haranguing the people the one stood composedly in one spot, while the other was the first Roman to walk about upon the rostra and pull his toga off his shoulder as he spoke. So Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first of the popular orators to strip away his mantle and smite his thigh.[1] In the second place, the speech of Caius was awe-inspiring and passionate to exaggeration, while that of Tiberius was more agreeable and more conducive to pity. The style also of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to a nicety, while that of Caius was persuasive and ornate. So also as regards their table and mode of life, Tiberius was simple and plain, while Caius, although temperate and austere as compared with others, in contrast with his brother was ostentatious and fastidious. Hence men like Drusus found fault with him because he bought silver dolphins at twelve hundred and fifty drachmas the pound. Again, their tempers were no less different than their speech. Tiberius was reasonable and gentle, while Caius was harsh and fiery, so that against his better judgment he was often carried away by anger as he spoke, raising his voice to a high pitch and uttering abuse and losing the thread of his discourse. Wherefore, to guard against such digressions, he employed an intelligent servant, Licinius, who stood behind him when he was speaking, with a sounding instrument for giving the tones of the voice their pitch. Whenever this servant noticed that the voice of Caius was getting harsh and broken with anger, he would give out a soft key-note, on hearing which Caius would at once remit the vehemence of his passion and of

[1] See the *Nicias*, viii. 3.

τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἀνιεὶς ἐπραΰνετο καὶ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐανάκλητον.

III. Αἱ μὲν οὖν διαφοραὶ τοιαῦταί τινες ἦσαν αὐτῶν· ἀνδραγαθία δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐγκράτεια, ἀπαράλλακτος. ἦν δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα ὁ Τιβέριος· καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἑκατέρου πολιτείαν ἀπηρτημένην τοῖς χρόνοις ἐποίησε καὶ τὰς πράξεις οὐχ ἥκιστα διελυμήνατο, μὴ συνακμασαντων μηδὲ συμβαλόντων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν δύναμιν, μεγάλην ἂν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον γενομένην. λεκτέον οὖν ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἑκατέρου καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

IV. Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων γενόμενος οὕτως ἦν περιβόητος ὥστε τῆς τῶν Αὐγούρων λεγομένης ἱερωσύνης ἀξιωθῆναι δι' ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν. ἐδήλωσε δὲ Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ τιμητικὸς καὶ προγεγραμμένος κατ' ἀξίωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς καὶ πολὺ φρονήματι τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν ὑπεραίρων. ἑστιωμένων γὰρ ἐν ταὐτῷ τῶν ἱερέων, προσαγορεύσας τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ φιλοφρονηθείς, αὐτὸς ἐμνᾶτο τῇ θυγατρὶ
2 νυμφίον. δεξαμένου δὲ ἀσμένως ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς καταινέσεως οὕτω γενομένης, εἰσιὼν ὁ Ἄππιος οἴκαδε πρὸς αὑτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας εὐθὺς ἐκάλει τὴν γυναῖκα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ βοῶν, "Ὦ Ἀντιστία, τὴν Κλαυδίαν ἡμῶν ἀνδρὶ καθωμολόγηκα." κἀκείνη θαυμάσασα, "Τίς," εἶπεν, "ἡ σπουδὴ ἢ τί τὸ τάχος; εἰ δὲ Τιβέριον αὐτῇ Γράγχον εὑρήκεις[1]

[1] εἰ δὲ . . . εὑρήκεις Bekker has εἰ μὴ . . . εὑρίσκεις; Blass and Fuhr εἰ μὴ εὑρήκεις (*unless thou hadst found*), after Stephanus.

his speech, grow gentle, and show himself easy to recall.

III. The differences between them, then, were of this nature; but as regards bravery in the face of the enemy, just dealings with subject peoples, scrupulous fidelity in public office, and restraint in pleasurable indulgence, they were exactly alike. Tiberius, however, was nine years older than his brother; and this set a different period for the political activity of each, and more than anything else vitiated their undertakings. They did not rise to eminence at the same time, and so did not combine their powers into one. Such an united power would have proved irresistibly great. We must therefore give an account of each by himself, and of the elder first.

IV. Tiberius, then, as soon as he got past boyhood, was so widely known as to be thought worthy of a place among the priests called Augurs; and this was due to his virtues rather than to his excellent birth, as was clearly shown by Appius Claudius. For Appius, who had been consul and censor, had been made Dean of the Roman senate[1] by virtue of his dignity, and in loftiness of spirit far surpassed his contemporaries, at a banquet of the augurs[2] addressed Tiberius with words of friendship, and asked him to become the husband of his daughter. Tiberius gladly accepted the invitation, and the betrothal was thus arranged, and when Appius returned home, from the doorway where he stood he called his wife and cried in a loud voice: "Antistia, I have betrothed our Claudia." And Antistia, in amazement, said: "Why so eager, or why so fast? If thou hadst only found

[1] Princeps Senatus.

[2] Presumably at the induction of Tiberius into office.

3 νυμφίον." οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τοῦτό τινες ἐπὶ τὸν
πατέρα τῶν Γράγχων Τιβέριον καὶ Σκηπίωνα
τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀναφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πλείους ὡς
ἡμεῖς γράφομεν ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ Πολύβιος μετὰ
τὴν Σκηπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ τελευτὴν τοὺς οἰκείους
φησὶν ἐκ πάντων προκρίναντας τὸν Τιβέριον
δοῦναι τὴν Κορνηλίαν, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνέκ-
δοτον καὶ ἀνέγγυον ἀπολειφθεῖσαν.
4 Ὁ δ' οὖν νεώτερος Τιβέριος στρατευόμενος ἐν
Λιβύῃ μετὰ τοῦ δευτέρου Σκηπίωνος, ἔχοντος
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ὁμοῦ συνδιαιτώμενος ὑπὸ
σκηνὴν τῷ στρατηγῷ ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν
κατέμαθε, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς ζῆλον ἀρετῆς
καὶ μίμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐκφέρουσαν, ταχὺ
δὲ τῶν νέων πάντων ἐπρώτευεν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ
5 ἀνδρείᾳ· καὶ τοῦ γε τείχους ἐπέβη τῶν πολεμίων
πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Φάννιος, λέγων καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ 826
Τιβερίῳ συνεπιβῆναι καὶ συμμετασχεῖν ἐκείνης
τῆς ἀριστείας. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ παρὼν εὔνοιαν
εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ πόθον ἀπαλλαττό-
μενος αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην αἱρεθεὶς
ταμίας ἔλαχε τῶν ὑπάτων Γαΐῳ Μαγκίνῳ συ-
στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Νομαντίνους, ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐ
πονηρῷ, βαρυποτμοτάτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ.
διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τύχαις παραλόγοις καὶ πράγ-
μασιν ἐναντίοις τοῦ Τιβερίου διέλαμψεν οὐ μόνον
τὸ συνετὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον, ἀλλ', ὃ θαυμάσιον ἦν,
αἰδώς τε πολλὴ καὶ τιμὴ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ὑπὸ τῶν
κακῶν οὐδ' ἑαυτόν, εἰ στρατηγός ἐστιν, ἐπιγι-
2 νώσκοντος. ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ μάχαις μεγάλαις ἐπε-

Tiberius Gracchus for betrothal to her!" I am aware that some[1] refer this story to Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and Scipio Africanus Major, but the majority of writers tell it as I do, and Polybius says[2] that after the death of Scipio Africanus the relatives of Cornelia chose out Tiberius in preference to all others and gave her to him, as one who had been left by her father unaffianced and unbetrothed.

The younger Tiberius, accordingly, serving in Africa under the younger Scipio,[3] who had married his sister, and sharing his commander's tent, soon learned to understand that commander's nature (which produced many great incentives towards the emulation of virtue and its imitation in action), and soon led all the young men in discipline and bravery; yes, he was first to scale the enemies' wall, as Fannius says, who writes also that he himself scaled the wall with Tiberius and shared in that exploit. While he remained with the army Tiberius was the object of much good will, and on leaving it he was greatly missed.

V. After this campaign he was elected quaestor, and had the fortune to serve in a war against Numantia under the consul Caius Mancinus,[4] who was not bad as a man, but most unfortunate of the Romans as a general. Therefore in the midst of unexpected misfortunes and adverse circumstances not only did the sagacity and bravery of Tiberius shine forth all the more, but also—and this was astonishing—the great respect and honour in which he held his commander, who, under the pressure of disasters, forgot even that he was a general. For after he had

[1] Cf. Livy. xxxviii. 57.
[2] Cf. Polybius, xxxii. 13.
[3] In the campaign of 146 B.C., which ended with the destruction of Carthage.
[4] Consul in 137 B.C.

χείρησε μὲν ἀναζευγνύναι νυκτός, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον· αἰσθομένων δὲ τῶν Νομαντίνων καὶ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς λαβόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπεσόντων φεύγουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους φονευόντων, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐγκυκλουμένων στράτευμα καὶ συνωθούντων εἰς τόπους χαλεποὺς καὶ διάφευξιν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι σωτηρίαν ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἐπεκηρυκεύετο
3 *περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ διαλύσεων πρὸς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἔφασαν οὐδενὶ πλὴν μόνῳ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκέλευον ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεπόνθεσαν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πλεῖστος λόγος ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς), καὶ μεμνημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς Τιβερίου, ὃς πολεμήσας Ἴβηρσι καὶ πολλοὺς καταστρεψάμενος εἰρήνην ἔθετο πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους καὶ ταύτην ἐμπεδοῦντα τὸν δῆμον ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀεὶ παρέσχεν.*
4 *οὕτω δὴ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείσας, τὰ δὲ δεξάμενος ἐσπείσατο, καὶ δισμυρίους ἔσωσε περιφανῶς Ῥωμαίων πολίτας, ἄνευ θεραπείας καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως ἑπομένων.*

VI. *Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρακι ληφθέντα χρήματα πάντα κατέσχον οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ διεπόρθησαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ πινακίδες ἦσαν τοῦ Τιβερίου, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἔχουσαι τῆς ταμιευτικῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ἀπολαβεῖν, ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ προκεχωρηκότος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας*

been defeated in great battles, he attempted to abandon his camp and withdraw his forces by night; but the Numantines became aware of his attempt and promptly seized his camp. Then they fell upon his men as they fled, slew those who were in the rear, encompassed his whole army, and crowded them into regions that were full of difficulties and afforded no escape. Mancinus, despairing of forcing his way to safety, sent heralds to the enemy proposing a truce and terms of peace; but the enemy declared that they had confidence in no Roman save only Tiberius, and ordered that he should be sent to them. They had this feeling towards the young man not only on his own account (for he was held in very high esteem by the Numantine soldiery), but also because they remembered his father Tiberius, who waged war against the Spaniards,[1] and subdued many of them, but made a peace with the Numantines, to the observance of which with integrity and justice he always held the Roman people. So Tiberius was sent and held conference with the enemy, and after getting them to accept some conditions, and himself accepting others, effected a truce, and thereby manifestly saved the lives of twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides attendants and camp followers.

VI. However, all the property captured in the camp was retained by the Numantines and treated as plunder. Among this were also the ledgers of Tiberius, containing written accounts of his official expenses as quaestor. These he was very anxious to recover, and so, when the army was already well on its way, turned back towards the city, attended by

[1] In 180–179 B.C.

2 ἑταίρους. ἐκκαλέσας δὲ τῶν Νομαντίνων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἠξίου κομίσασθαι τὰς δέλτους, ὡς μὴ παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διαβολὴν οὐκ ἔχων ἀπολογίσασθαι περὶ τῶν ᾠκονομημένων. ἡσθέντες οὖν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τῇ συντυχίᾳ τῆς χρείας παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ὡς δὲ εἱστήκει βουλευόμενος, ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες ἐνεφύοντο ταῖς χερσί, καὶ λιπαρεῖς ἦσαν δεόμενοι μηκέτι νομίζειν αὐτοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὡς φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ
3 πιστεύειν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Τιβερίῳ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, τῶν τε δέλτων περιεχομένῳ καὶ δεδοικότι παροξύνειν ὡς ἀπιστουμένους τοὺς Νομαντίνους. εἰσελθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἄριστον παρέθεσαν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐποιήσαντο δέησιν ἐμφαγεῖν τι κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενον· ἔπειτα τὰς δέλτους ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ βούλοιτο χρημάτων λαβεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἢ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ᾧ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας ἐχρῆτο θυσίας λαβών, ἀπῆλθεν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς τοὺς ἄνδρας.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, ἡ μὲν ὅλη πρᾶξις ὡς δεινὴ καὶ καταισχύνουσα τὴν Ῥώμην αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ κατηγορίαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι μέγα μέρος ὄντες τοῦ δήμου συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον, τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ τῶν γεγονότων ἀναφέροντες εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα, δι' αὐτὸν δὲ σώζεσθαι τοσούτους πολίτας φάσκοντες.
2 οἱ μέντοι δυσχεραίνοντες τὰ πεπραγμένα μιμεῖ- 827
σθαι τοὺς προγόνους ἐκέλευον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι

three or four companions. After summoning forth the magistrates of Numantia, he asked them to bring him his tablets, that he might not give his enemies opportunity to malign him by not being able to give an account of his administration. The Numantines, accordingly, delighted at the chance to do him a favour, invited him to enter the city; and as he stood deliberating the matter, they drew near and clasped his hands, and fervently entreated him no longer to regard them as enemies, but to treat and trust them as friends. Tiberius, accordingly, decided to do this, both because he set great store by his tablets, and because he feared to exasperate the Numantines by showing them distrust. After he had entered the city, in the first place the Numantines set out a meal for him, and entreated him by all means to sit down and eat something in their company; next, they gave him back his tablets, and urged him to take whatever he wanted of the rest of his property. He took nothing, however, except the frankincense which he was wont to use in the public sacrifices, and after bidding them farewell with every expression of friendship, departed.

VII. When he came back to Rome, the whole transaction was blamed and denounced as a terrible disgrace to the city, although the relatives and friends of the soldiers, who formed a large part of the people, came flocking to Tiberius, imputing the disgrace in what had happened to his commander, but insisting that it was due to Tiberius that the lives of so many citizens had been saved. Those, however, who were displeased at what had been done urged for imitation the example of their ancestors, who flung to the enemy unarmed the generals

τοὺς ἀγαπήσαντας ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν ἀφεθῆναι στρατηγοὺς αὐτούς τε τοῖς πολεμίοις γυμνοὺς προσέρριψαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐφαψαμένους καὶ μετασχόντας τῶν σπονδῶν, οἷον ταμίας καὶ χιλιάρχους, ὁμοίως προὔβαλον, εἰς ἐκείνους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὴν
3 διάλυσιν τῶν ὡμολογημένων τρέποντες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον εὔνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐξέφηνεν ὁ δῆμος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὕπατον ἐψηφίσαντο γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένον παραδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐφείσαντο πάντων διὰ Τιβέριον. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Σκηπίων βοηθῆσαι, μέγιστος ὢν τότε καὶ πλεῖστον δυνάμενος Ῥωμαίων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν αἰτίαις ἦν ὅτι τὸν Μαγκῖνον οὐ περιέσωσεν, οὐδὲ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐμπεδωθῆναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις ἐσπούδασε δι' ἀνδρὸς
4 οἰκείου καὶ φίλου τοῦ Τιβερίου γενομένας. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἔοικεν ἐκ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν ἐπαιρόντων τὸν Τιβέριον φίλων καὶ σοφιστῶν ἐκγενέσθαι τὰ τῆς διαφορᾶς. ἀλλ' αὕτη γε πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδὲ φαῦλον ἐξέπεσε. δοκεῖ δ' ἄν μοι μηδαμῶς περιπεσεῖν ὁ Τιβέριος οἷς ἔπαθεν, εἰ παρῆν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνου περὶ Νομαντίαν ὄντος ἤδη καὶ πολεμοῦντος ἥψατο τῆς περὶ τοὺς νόμους πολιτείας ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

VIII. Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων χώρας ὅσην ἀπετέμοντο πολέμῳ, τὴν μὲν ἐπίπρασκον,

themselves who had been satisfied to be let go by the Samnites, and in like manner cast forth those who had taken hand and share in the treaty, as for instance the quaestors and military tribunes, turning upon their heads the guilt of perjury and violation of the pact.[1] In the present affair, indeed, more than at any other time, the people showed their good will and affection towards Tiberius. For they voted to deliver up the consul unarmed and in bonds to the Numantines, but spared all the other officers for the sake of Tiberius. It would seem, too, that Scipio, who was then the greatest and most influential man at Rome, helped to save them; but none the less he was blamed[2] for not saving Mancinus, and for not insisting that the treaty with the Numantines, which had been made through the agency of his kinsman and friend Tiberius, should be kept inviolate. It would appear that the disagreement between the two men arose chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius and from the friends and sophists who urged him on. But this disagreement certainly resulted in no mischief past remedy. And in my opinion Tiberius would never have met with his great misfortunes if Scipio Africanus had been present at Rome during his political activity. But as it was, Scipio was already at Numantia[3] and waging war there when Tiberius began to agitate for his agrarian laws. The occasion of this was as follows.

VIII. Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a

[1] In 321 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *De off.*, iii. 30, 109.
[2] By Tiberius and his friends.
[3] Scipio was sent against Numantia in 134 B.C., and took and destroyed the city in the following year, in which year also Tiberius was killed.

τὴν δὲ ποιούμενοι δημοσίαν ἐδίδοσαν νέμεσθαι
τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι καὶ ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπο-
φορὰν οὐ πολλὴν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τελοῦσιν.
2 ἀρξαμένων δὲ τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς
ἀποφορὰς καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἐξελαυνόντων, ἐγράφη
νόμος οὐκ ἐῶν πλέθρα γῆς ἔχειν πλείονα τῶν
πεντακοσίων. καὶ βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε
τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο, καὶ τοῖς πένη-
σιν ἐβοήθησε κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν με-
μισθωμένων καὶ νεμομένοις ἣν ἕκαστος ἐξ ἀρχῆς
3 εἶχε μοῖραν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν γειτνιώντων πλου-
σίων ὑποβλήτοις προσώποις μεταφερόντων τὰς
μισθώσεις εἰς ἑαυτούς, τέλος δὲ φανερῶς ἤδη δι'
ἑαυτῶν τὰ πλεῖστα κατεχόντων, ἐξωσθέντες οἱ
πένητες οὔτε ταῖς στρατείαις ἔτι προθύμους παρεῖ-
χον ἑαυτούς, ἠμέλουν τε παίδων ἀνατροφῆς, ὥστε
ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ὀλιγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων
αἰσθέσθαι, δεσμωτηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἐμπε-
πλῆσθαι, δι' ὧν ἐγεώργουν οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία,
4 τοὺς πολίτας ἐξελάσαντες. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν οὖν
τῇ διορθώσει Γάϊος Λαίλιος ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἑταῖρος,
ἀντικρουσάντων δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν φοβηθεὶς τὸν
θόρυβον καὶ παυσάμενος ἐπεκλήθη σοφὸς ἢ φρό-
νιμος· ἑκάτερον γὰρ ἐδόκει σημαίνειν ὁ σαπίηνς.
ὁ Τιβέριος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀποδειχθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπ'
αὐτὴν ὥρμησε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι
λέγουσι, Διοφάνους τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Βλοσσίου
5 τοῦ φιλοσόφου παρορμησάντων αὐτόν, ὧν ὁ μὲν
Διοφάνης φυγὰς ἦν Μιτυληναῖος, ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν

part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury. And when the rich began to offer larger rents and drove out the poor, a law was enacted forbidding the holding by one person of more than five hundred acres of land. For a short time this enactment gave a check to the rapacity of the rich, and was of assistance to the poor, who remained in their places on the land which they had rented and occupied the allotment which each had held from the outset. But later on the neighbouring rich men, by means of fictitious personages, transferred these rentals to themselves, and finally held most of the land openly in their own names. Then the poor, who had been ejected from their land, no longer showed themselves eager for military service, and neglected the bringing up of children, so that soon all Italy was conscious of a dearth of freemen, and was filled with gangs of foreign slaves, by whose aid the rich cultivated their estates, from which they had driven away the free citizens. An attempt was therefore made to rectify this evil, and by Caius Laelius the comrade of Scipio; but the men of influence opposed his measures, and he, fearing the disturbance which might ensue, desisted, and received the surname of *Wise* or *Prudent* (for the Latin word "sapiens" would seem to have either meaning). Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene, but Blossius

ἐξ Ἰταλίας Κυμαῖος, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως
γεγονὼς ἐν ἄστει συνήθης καὶ τετιμημένος ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ προσφωνήσεσι γραμμάτων φιλοσόφων.
ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Κορνηλίαν συνεπαιτιῶνται τὴν μη-
τέρα πολλάκις τοὺς υἱοὺς ὀνειδίζουσαν ὅτι Ῥω-
μαῖοι Σκηπίωνος αὐτὴν ἔτι πενθεράν, οὔπω δὲ
6 μητέρα Γράγχων προσαγορεύουσιν. ἄλλοι δὲ
Σπόριόν τινα Ποστούμιον αἴτιον γενέσθαι λέγου-
σιν, ἡλικιώτην τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ πρὸς δόξαν
ἐφάμιλλον αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας, ὅν, ὡς
ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, εὑρὼν πολὺ τῇ δόξῃ
καὶ τῇ δυνάμει παρηλλαχότα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον,
ἠθέλησεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπερβαλέσθαι πολιτεύματος
παραβόλου καὶ μεγάλην προσδοκίαν ἔχοντος 828
7 ἀψάμενος. ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάϊος ἔν τινι
βιβλίῳ γέγραφεν εἰς Νομαντίαν πορευόμενον διὰ
τῆς Τυρρηνίας τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν τῆς
χώρας ὁρῶντα καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ἢ νέμοντας
οἰκέτας ἐπεισάκτους καὶ βαρβάρους, τότε πρῶτον
ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὴν μυρίων κακῶν ἄρξασαν
αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν. τὴν δὲ πλείστην αὐτὸς ὁ δῆ-
μος ὁρμὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐξῆψε, προκαλούμενος
διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν ἐν στοαῖς καὶ τοίχοις καὶ
μνήμασι καταγραφομένων ἀναλαβεῖν τοῖς πένησι
τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ γε συνέθηκε τὸν νόμον,
τοῖς δὲ πρωτεύουσιν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν πολιτῶν
συμβούλοις χρησάμενος, ὧν καὶ Κράσσος ἦν ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Μούκιος Σκαιβόλας ὁ νομοδείκτης

was a native Italian from Cumae, had been an intimate friend of Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, and had been honoured by him with the dedication of philosophical treatises. But some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that a certain Spurius Postumius was to blame. He was of the same age as Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an advocate; and when Tiberius came back from his campaign and found that his rival had far outstripped him in reputation and influence and was an object of public admiration, he determined, as it would seem, to outdo him by engaging in a bold political measure which would arouse great expectations among the people. But his brother Caius, in a certain pamphlet,[1] has written that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and observed the dearth of inhabitants in the country, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there were imported barbarian slaves, he then first conceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers. However, the energy and ambition of Tiberius were most of all kindled by the people themselves, who posted writings on porticoes, house-walls, and monuments, calling upon him to recover for the poor the public land.

IX. He did not, however, draw up his law by himself, but took counsel with the citizens who were foremost in virtue and reputation, among whom were Crassus the pontifex maximus, Mucius Scaevola the

[1] Probably a political pamphlet in the form of a letter. Cf. Cicero, *de div.* ii. 29, 62.

ὑπατεύων τότε καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος ὁ κηδεστὴς
2 τοῦ Τιβερίου. καὶ δοκεῖ νόμος εἰς ἀδικίαν καὶ
πλεονεξίαν τοσαύτην μηδέποτε πρᾳότερος γραφῆναι
καὶ μαλακώτερος. οὓς γὰρ ἔδει δίκην τῆς
ἀπειθείας δοῦναι καὶ μετὰ ζημίας ἣν παρὰ τοὺς
νόμους ἐκαρποῦντο χώραν ἀφεῖναι, τούτους ἐκέ-
λευσε τιμὴν προσλαμβάνοντας ἐκβαίνειν ὧν
ἀδίκως ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς βοη-
3 θείας δεομένους τῶν πολιτῶν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω
τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως οὔσης εὐγνώμονος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος
ἠγάπα, παρεὶς τὰ γεγενημένα, παύσασθαι τὸ
λοιπὸν ἀδικούμενος, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι καὶ κτηματικοὶ
πλεονεξίᾳ μὲν τὸν νόμον, ὀργῇ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ
τὸν νομοθέτην δι' ἔχθους ἔχοντες, ἐπεχείρουν
ἀποτρέπειν τὸν δῆμον, ὡς γῆς ἀναδασμὸν ἐπὶ
συγχύσει τῆς πολιτείας εἰσάγοντος τοῦ Τιβερίου
καὶ πάντα πράγματα κινοῦντος.
4 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον· ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος πρὸς
καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ δικαίαν ἀγωνιζόμενος λόγῳ
καὶ φαυλότερα κοσμῆσαι δυναμένῳ πράγματα
δεινὸς ἦν καὶ ἄμαχος, ὁπότε τοῦ δήμου τῷ βήματι
περικεχυμένου καταστὰς λέγοι περὶ τῶν πενήτων,
ὡς τὰ μὲν θηρία τὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν νεμόμενα καὶ
φωλεὸν ἔχει καὶ κοιταῖόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ
5 καὶ καταδύσεις,[1] τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας μαχο-
μένοις καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσιν ἀέρος καὶ φωτός,
ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνί-
δρυτοι μετὰ τέκνων πλανῶνται καὶ γυναικῶν, οἱ
δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ψεύδονται τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν
ταῖς μάχαις παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ τάφων καὶ

[1] *καταδύσεις* Bekker and many other editors have *κατάδυσις*, after Stephanus and Reiske.

jurist, who was then consul, and Appius Claudius, his father-in-law. And it is thought that a law dealing with injustice and rapacity so great was never drawn up in milder and gentler terms. For men who ought to have been punished for their disobedience and to have surrendered with payment of a fine the land which they were illegally enjoying, these men it merely ordered to abandon their injust acquisitions upon being paid their value, and to admit into ownership of them such citizens as needed assistance. But although the rectification of the wrong was so considerate, the people were satisfied to let bygones be bygones if they could be secure from such wrong in the future; the men of wealth and substance, however, were led by their greed to hate the law, and by their wrath and contentiousness to hate the law-giver, and tried to dissuade the people by alleging that Tiberius was introducing a re-distribution of land for the confusion of the body politic, and was stirring up a general revolution.

But they accomplished nothing; for Tiberius, striving to support a measure which was honourable and just with an eloquence that would have adorned even a meaner cause, was formidable and invincible, whenever, with the people crowding around the rostra, he took his stand there and pleaded for the poor. "The wild beasts that roam over Italy," he would say, "have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children. And it is with lying lips that their imperators exhort the soldiers in their battles to

ἱερῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους· οὐδενὶ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ βωμὸς πατρῷος, οὐκ ἠρίον προγονικὸν τῶν τοσούτων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας τρυφῆς καὶ πλούτου πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῶλον ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες.

X. Τούτους ἀπὸ φρονήματος μεγάλου καὶ πάθους ἀληθινοῦ τοὺς λόγους κατιόντας[1] εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ συνεξανιστάμενον οὐδεὶς ὑφίστατο τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐάσαντες οὖν τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπὶ Μάρκον Ὀκτάβιον τρέπονται τῶν δημάρχων ἕνα, νεανίαν ἐμβριθῆ τὸ ἦθος καὶ
2 κόσμιον, ἑταῖρον δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ συνήθη. διὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰδούμενος ἐκεῖνον ἀνεδύετο· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν δεομένων καὶ λιπαρούντων ὥσπερ ἐκβιαθεὶς ἀντικαθίστατο τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ διεκρούετο τὸν νόμον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ κωλύοντος ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις τὸ κράτος· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ
3 κελεύοντες περαίνουσιν ἑνὸς ἐνισταμένου. πρὸς τοῦτο παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος τὸν μὲν φιλάνθρωπον ἐπανείλετο νόμον, τὸν δὲ ἡδίω τε τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ σφοδρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰσέφερεν ἤδη, κελεύων ἐξίστασθαι τῆς χώρας ἣν ἐκέκτηντο παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους.

4 Ἦσαν οὖν ὁμοῦ τι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐν 829
οἷς, καίπερ ἐξ ἄκρας σπουδῆς καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀντερείδοντες, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν λέγονται περὶ ἀλλήλων φαῦλον, οὐδὲ ῥῆμα προπεσεῖν θατέρου πρὸς

[1] κατιόντας Bekker has κατατείνοντα, after Coraës, from the variant κατατείνοντας.

defend sepulchres and shrines from the enemy; for not a man of them has an hereditary altar, not one of all these many Romans an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own."

X. Such words as these, the product of a lofty spirit and genuine feeling, and falling upon the ears of a people profoundly moved and fully aroused to the speaker's support, no adversary of Tiberius could successfully withstand. Abandoning therefore all counter-pleading, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the popular tribunes, a young man of sober character, discreet, and an intimate companion of Tiberius. On this account Octavius at first tried to hold himself aloof, out of regard for Tiberius; but he was forced from his position, as it were, by the prayers and supplications of many influential men, so that he set himself in opposition to Tiberius and staved off the passage of the law. Now, the decisive power is in the hands of any tribune who interposes his veto; for the wishes of the majority avail nothing if one tribune is in opposition. Incensed at this procedure, Tiberius withdrew his considerate law, and introduced this time one which was more agreeable to the multitude and more severe against the wrongdoers, since it simply ordered them to vacate without compensation the land which they had acquired in violation of the earlier laws.

Almost every day, therefore, there were forensic contests between Tiberius and Octavius, in which, as we are told, although both strove together with the utmost earnestness and rivalry, neither abused the other or let fall a single word about the other which

τὸν ἕτερον δι' ὀργὴν ἀνεπιτήδειον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν βακχεύμασιν,[1] ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν φιλοτιμίαις καὶ ὀργαῖς τὸ πεφυκέναι καλῶς καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι σωφρόνως ἐφίστησι καὶ κατακοσμεῖ 5 τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐνεχόμενον τῷ νόμῳ καὶ κατέχοντα τῆς δημοσίας χώρας συχνὴν ὁ Τιβέριος, ἐδεῖτο παρεῖναι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ὑφιστάμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἀποδώσειν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καίπερ οὐ λαμπρῶν ὄντων. οὐκ ἀνασχομένου δὲ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου, διαγράμματι τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας ἐκώλυσε χρηματίζειν, 6 ἄχρι ἂν ἡ περὶ τοῦ νόμου διενεχθῇ ψῆφος· τῷ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου ναῷ σφραγῖδας ἰδίας ἐπέβαλεν, ὅπως οἱ ταμίαι μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοιεν μηδ' εἰσφέροιεν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι τῶν στρατηγῶν ζημίαν ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὥστε πάντας ὑποδείσαντας ἀφεῖναι 7 τὴν ἑκάστῳ προσήκουσαν οἰκονομίαν. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ κτηματικοὶ τὰς μὲν ἐσθῆτας μετέβαλον καὶ περιῄεσαν οἰκτροὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐπεβούλευον δὲ τῷ Τιβερίῳ κρύφα καὶ συνίστασαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας, ὥστε κἀκεῖνον οὐδενὸς ἀγνοοῦντος ὑποζώννυσθαι ξιφίδιον ληστρικόν, ὃ δόλωνα καλοῦσιν.

XI. Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καλοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον, ἡρπάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων αἱ ὑδρίαι, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα πολλὴν εἶχε σύγχυσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν περὶ Τιβέριον πλήθει βιάσασθαι δυναμένων καὶ συστρεφομένων ἐπὶ τοῦτο, Μάλλιος καὶ Φούλβιος,

[1] καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν
οὖσ' ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται
(Euripides, *Bacchae*, 310 f. (Kirchhoff)).

anger made unseemly. For not only "in Bacchic revelries," as it appears, but also in the exercise of rivalry and wrath, a noble nature and a sound training restrain and regulate the mind. Moreover, when Tiberius observed that Octavius himself was amenable to the law as a large holder of the public land, he begged him to remit his opposition, promising to pay him the value of the land out of his own means, although these were not splendid. But Octavius would not consent to this, and therefore Tiberius issued an edict forbidding all the other magistrates to transact any public business until such time as the vote should be cast either for or against his law. He also put his private seal upon the temple of Saturn, in order that the quaestors might not take any money from its treasury or pay any into it, and he made proclamation that a penalty would be imposed upon such praetors as disobeyed, so that all magistrates grew fearful and ceased performing their several functions. Thereupon the men of property put on the garb of mourning and went about the forum in pitiful and lowly guise; but in secret they plotted against the life of Tiberius and tried to raise a band of assassins to take him off, so that Tiberius on his part—and everybody knew it—wore a concealed short-sword such as brigands use (the name for it is "dolo").

XI. When the appointed day was come and Tiberius was summoning the people to the vote, the voting urns were stolen away by the party of the rich, and great confusion arose. However, the supporters of Tiberius were numerous enough to force the issue, and were banding together for this purpose, when

ἄνδρες ὑπατικοί, προσπεσόντες τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ
χειρῶν ἁπτόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες ἐδέοντο παύσα-
2 σθαι. τοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὅσον οὔπω δεινὸν ἤδη
συμφρονοῦντος, καὶ δι' αἰδῶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πυθο-
μένου τί κελεύουσι πράττειν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφασαν
ἀξιόχρεῳ εἶναι πρὸς τηλικαύτην συμβουλίαν,
ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κελεύοντες καὶ δεόμενοι
συνέπεισαν.

Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν ἡ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα
διὰ τοὺς πλουσίους ἰσχύοντας ἐν αὐτῇ, τρέπεται
πρὸς ἔργον οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ ἐπιεικές, ἀφελέσθαι
τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ὀκτάβιον, ἀμηχανῶν ἄλλως ἐπα-
3 γαγεῖν τῷ νόμῳ τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
ἐδεῖτο φανερῶς αὐτοῦ, λόγους τε προσφέρων
φιλανθρώπους καὶ χειρῶν ἁπτόμενος, ἐνδοῦναι
καὶ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ δίκαια μὲν ἀξιοῦντι,
μικρὰ δὲ ἀντὶ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ληψο-
μένῳ. διωθουμένου δὲ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου τὴν ἔντευξιν,
ὑπειπὼν ὁ Τιβέριος ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρχοντας ἀμφο-
τέρους καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἀπ' ἴσης
ἐξουσίας διαφερομένους ἄνευ πολέμου διεξελθεῖν
τὸν χρόνον, ἓν ἴαμα τούτου μόνον ὁρᾶν ἔφη τὸ
4 παύσασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἕτερον. καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ
γε προτέρου τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐκέλευσε τῷ δήμῳ ψῆ-
φον ἀναδοῦναι· καταβήσεσθαι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἰδιώτης
γενόμενος, ἂν τοῦτο δόξῃ τοῖς πολίταις. τοῦ δὲ
Ὀκταβίου μὴ θέλοντος αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ ἐκείνου
ψῆφον ἀναδώσειν, ἐὰν μὴ μεταγνῷ βουλευσάμενος.

XII. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διέλυσε τὴν

Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell down before Tiberius, clasped his hands, and with tears besought him to desist. Tiberius, conscious that the future was now all but desperate, and moved by respect for the men, asked them what they would have him do. They replied that they were not competent to advise in so grave a crisis, and urged him with entreaties to submit the case to the senate. To this Tiberius consented.

But the senate in its session accomplished nothing, owing to the prevailing influence of the wealthy class in it, and therefore Tiberius resorted to a measure which was illegal and unseemly, the ejection of Octavius from his office; but he was unable in any other way to bring his law to the vote. In the first place, however, he begged Octavius in public, addressing him with kindly words and clasping his hands, to give in and gratify the people, who demanded only their just rights, and would receive only a trifling return for great toils and perils. But Octavius rejected the petition, and therefore Tiberius, after premising that, since they were colleagues in office with equal powers and differed on weighty measures, it was impossible for them to complete their term of office without open war, said he saw only one remedy for this, and that was for one or the other of them to give up his office. Indeed, he urged Octavius to put to the people a vote on his own case first, promising to retire at once to private life if this should be the will of the citizens. But Octavius was unwilling, and therefore Tiberius declared that he would put the case of Octavius unless Octavius should change his mind upon reflection.

XII. With this understanding, he dissolved the

ἐκκλησίαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πάλιν ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸν Ὀκτάβιον· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀμετάπειστος, εἰσήνεγκε νόμον ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν δημαρχίαν, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας εὐθὺς ἐκάλει τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντας.
2 οὐσῶν δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλῶν, ὡς αἱ δεκαεπτὰ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπενηνόχεισαν καὶ μιᾶς ἔτι προσγενομένης ἔδει τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἰδιώτην γενέσθαι, κελεύσας ἐπισχεῖν αὖθις ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ὀκταβίου καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατησπάζετο, λιπαρῶν καὶ δεόμενος μήθ' ἑαυτὸν 830
ἄτιμον περιϊδεῖν γενόμενον μήτ' ἐκείνῳ βαρέος οὕτω καὶ σκυθρωποῦ πολιτεύματος αἰτίαν προσάψαι.

3 Τούτων τῶν δεήσεων οὐ παντελῶς ἄτεγκτον οὐδ' ἀτενῆ λέγουσιν ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν Ὀκτάβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύων ὑποπίμπλασθαι τὰ ὄμματα καὶ σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ὡς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς κτηματικοὺς συνεστῶτας ἀπέβλεψεν, αἰδεσθεὶς δοκεῖ καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀδοξίαν ὑποστῆναι πᾶν δεινὸν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς καὶ κελεῦσαι πράττειν ὃ βούλεται τὸν
4 Τιβέριον. οὕτω δὴ τοῦ νόμου κυρωθέντος ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἑλκύσαι τὸν Ὀκτάβιον· ἐχρῆτο δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἀπελευθέροις ἰδίοις, καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ὄψιν οἰκτροτέραν τοῦ Ὀκταβίου παρέσχεν ἑλκομένου
5 πρὸς ὕβριν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐφώρμησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν πλουσίων συνδραμόντων καὶ διασχόντων τὰς χεῖρας, ὁ μὲν Ὀκτάβιος ἐσώθη μόλις ἐξαρπαγεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν ὄχλον, οἰκέτην δὲ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν

assembly for that day; but on the following day, after the people had come together, he mounted the rostra and once more attempted to persuade Octavius. When, however, Octavius was not to be persuaded, Tiberius introduced a law depriving him of his tribuneship, and summoned the citizens to cast their votes upon it at once. Now, there were five and thirty tribes, and when seventeen of them had cast their votes, and the addition of one more would make it necessary for Octavius to become a private citizen, Tiberius called a halt in the voting, and again entreated Octavius, embracing and kissing him in the sight of the people, and fervently begging him not to allow himself to be dishonoured, and not to attach to a friend responsibility for a measure so grievous and severe.

On hearing these entreaties, we are told, Octavius was not altogether untouched or unmoved; his eyes filled with tears and he stood silent for a long time. But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, his awe of them, as it would seem, and his fear of ill repute among them, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased. And so the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the rostra; for Tiberius used his freedmen as officers, and this made the sight of Octavius dragged along with contumely a more pitiful one. Moreover, the people made a rush at him, and though the men of wealth ran in a body to his assistance and spread out their hands against the crowd, it was with difficulty that Octavius was snatched away and safely rescued from the crowd; and a trusty servant of his who

ἔμπροσθεν ἑστῶτα καὶ προτεταγμένον ἐξετύφλωσαν, ἄκοντος τοῦ Τιβερίου, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον, ὡς ᾔσθετο τὰ γινόμενα, πολλῇ σπουδῇ καταδραμόντος.

XIII. Ἐκ τούτου κυροῦται μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμος, αἱροῦνται δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τὴν διάκρισιν καὶ διανομήν, αὐτὸς Τιβέριος καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος ὁ πενθερὸς καὶ Γάϊος Γράγχος ὁ ἀδελφός, οὐ παρὼν οὗτος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνι
2 πρὸς Νομαντίαν στρατευόμενος. ταῦτα τοῦ Τιβερίου διαπραξαμένου καθ' ἡσυχίαν μηδενὸς ἐνισταμένου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δήμαρχον ἀντικαταστήσαντος οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ Μούκιόν τινα, πελάτην αὐτοῦ, πρὸς πάντα δυσχεραίνοντες οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ φοβούμενοι τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν αὔξησιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ προεπηλάκιζον αὐτόν, αἰτουμένῳ μέν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐκ δημοσίου σκηνήν,
3 ὅπως ἔχοι διανέμων τὴν χώραν, οὐ δόντες, ἑτέρων ἐπ' ἐλάττοσι χρείαις πολλάκις λαβόντων, ἀνάλωμα δὲ εἰς ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐννέα ὀβολοὺς τάξαντες, εἰσηγουμένου ταῦτα Ποπλίου Νασικᾶ καὶ δεδωκότος ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔχθραν ἀφειδῶς· πλείστην γὰρ ἐκέκτητο γῆν δημοσίαν, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἐκβαίνειν αὐτῆς ἀναγκαζόμενος.

4 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεκάετο· καὶ φίλου τινὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ τελευτήσαντος αἰφνιδίως καὶ σημείων τῷ νεκρῷ μοχθηρῶν ἐπιδραμόντων, βοῶντες ὑπὸ φαρμάκων ἀνῃρῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον

stood in front of his master and protected him, had his eyes torn out, against the protest of Tiberius, who, when he perceived what was going on, ran down with great haste to appease the tumult.

XIII. After this the agrarian law was passed, and three men were chosen for the survey and distribution of the public land, Tiberius himself, Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and Caius Gracchus his brother, who was not at Rome, but was serving under Scipio in the expedition against Numantia. These measures were carried out by Tiberius quietly and without opposition, and, besides, he procured the election of a tribune in the place of Octavius. The new tribune was not a man of rank or note, but a certain Mucius, a client of Tiberius. The aristocrats, however, who were vexed at these proceedings and feared the growing power of Tiberius, heaped insult upon him in the senate. When he asked for the customary tent at public expense, for his use when dividing up the public land, they would not give it, although other men had often obtained one for less important purposes; and they fixed his daily allowance for expenses at nine obols.[1] These things were done on motion of Publius Nasica, who surrendered completely to his hatred of Tiberius. For he was a very large holder of public land, and bitterly resented his being forced to give it up.

But the people were all the more inflamed; and when a friend of Tiberius died suddenly and his body broke out all over with evil spots, they ran in throngs to the man's funeral, crying out that he had been poisoned to death, and they carried the bier them-

[1] That is, in Roman money, nine sestertii, equivalent to about twenty pence, or forty cents.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν συνέδραμον καὶ τὸ λέχος ἤραντο καὶ θαπτομένῳ παρέστησαν, οὐ φαύλως ὑπονοῆσαι
5 τὴν φαρμακείαν δόξαντες. ἐρράγη γὰρ ὁ νεκρὸς καὶ διεφθορότων ὑγρῶν πλῆθος ἐξέβλυσεν, ὥστε ἀποσβέσαι τὴν φλόγα· καὶ φερόντων ἄλλην αὖθις οὐκ ἐκᾴετο πρὶν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον μετακομισθῆναι, καὶ πολλὰ πραγματευσαμένων μόλις ἥψατο τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ. πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Τιβέριος παροξύνων μετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προαγαγὼν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ δήμου τούτων κήδεσθαι καὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεγνωκὼς ἑαυτόν.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Φιλομήτορος Ἀττάλου τελευτήσαντος Εὔδημος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἀνήνεγκε διαθήκην ἐν ᾗ κληρονόμος ἐγέγραπτο τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, εὐθὺς ὁ Τιβέριος δημαγωγῶν εἰσήνεγκε νόμον ὅπως τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα κομισθέντα τοῖς τὴν χώραν διαλαγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπάρχοι πρὸς κατασκευὴν καὶ γεωργίας
2 ἀφορμήν. περὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων, ὅσαι τῆς Ἀττάλου βασιλείας ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἔφη τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλεύεσθαι προσήκειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην αὐτὸς προθήσειν. ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα προσέ- 831
κρουσε τῇ βουλῇ· καὶ Πομπήϊος μὲν ἀναστὰς ἔφη γειτνιᾶν τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γινώσκειν Εὔδημον αὐτῷ τὸν Περγαμηνὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν διάδημα δεδωκότα καὶ πορφύραν, ὡς μέλλοντι
3 βασιλεύειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κόϊντος δὲ Μέτελλος ὠνείδισε τὸν Τιβέριον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ

selves, and stood by at the last ceremonies. And their suspicions of poison were thought to be not without reason. For the dead body burst open and a great quantity of corrupt humours gushed forth, so that the flame of the funeral pyre was extinguished. And when fresh fire was brought, again the body would not burn, until it was carried to another place, where, after much trouble, the fire at last took hold of it. Upon this, Tiberius, that he might exasperate the multitude still more, put on a garb of mourning, brought his children before the assembly, and begged the people to care for them and their mother, saying that he despaired of his own life.

XIV. And now Attalus Philometor died,[1] and Eudemus of Pergamum brought to Rome the king's last will and testament, by which the Roman people was made his heir. At once Tiberius courted popular favour by bringing in a bill which provided that the money of King Attalus, when brought to Rome, should be given to the citizens who received a parcel of the public land, to aid them in stocking and tilling their farms. And as regarded the cities which were included in the kingdom of Attalus, he said it did not belong to the senate to deliberate about them, but he himself would submit a pertinent resolution to the people. By this proceeding he gave more offence than ever to the senate; and Pompeius, rising to speak there, said that he was a neighbour of Tiberius, and therefore knew that Eudemus of Pergamum had presented Tiberius with a royal diadem and purple robe, believing that he was going to be king in Rome. Moreover, Quintus Metellus upbraided Tiberius with the reminder that whenever

[1] In 133 B.C.

τιμητεύοντος, ὁσάκις ἀναλύοι μετὰ δεῖπνον οἴκαδε, τὰ φῶτα κατεσβέννυσαν οἱ πολῖται, φοβούμενοι μὴ πορρωτέρω τοῦ μετρίου δόξωσιν ἐν συνουσίαις εἶναι καὶ πότοις, τούτῳ δὲ παραφαίνουσι νυκτὸς οἱ θρασύτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν·
4 Τίτος *δ'* Ἄννιος, *οὐκ ἐπιεικὴς μὲν οὐδὲ σώφρων ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ λόγοις πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄμαχος εἶναι δοκῶν, εἰς ὁρισμόν τινα προὐκαλεῖτο τὸν* Τιβέριον, *ἦ μὴν ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄσυλον ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἠτιμωκέναι τὸν συνάρχοντα. θορυβούντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐκπηδήσας ὁ* Τιβέριος *τόν τε δῆμον συνεκάλει καὶ τὸν* Ἄννιον
5 *ἀχθῆναι κελεύσας ἐβούλετο κατηγορεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ λειπόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα κατεδύετο, καὶ παρεκάλει μικρὰ πρὸ τῶν λόγων ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν* Τιβέριον. *συγχωροῦντος δὲ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνου καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης εἶπεν ὁ* Ἄννιος, "Ἂν *σὺ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν με βούλῃ καὶ προπηλακίζειν, ἐγὼ δέ τινα τῶν σῶν ἐπικαλέσωμαι συναρχόντων, ὁ δὲ ἀναβῇ βοηθήσων, σὺ δὲ ὀργισθῇς, ἆρά γε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρήσῃ;"*
6 *πρὸς ταύτην λέγεται τὴν ἐρώτησιν οὕτω διαπορηθῆναι τὸν* Τιβέριον *ὥστε πάντων ὄντα καὶ τὸ λέγειν ἑτοιμότατον καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἰταμώτατον ἀποσιωπῆσαι.*

XV. Τότε *μὲν οὖν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· αἰσθανόμενος δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων τὸ περὶ τὸν* Ὀκτάβιον *οὐ τοῖς δυνατοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκπαθέστερον (μέγα γάρ τι καὶ καλὸν*

his father, during his censorship, was returning home after a supper, the citizens put out their lights, for fear they might be thought to be indulging immoderately in entertainments and drinking bouts, whereas Tiberius himself was lighted on his way at night by the neediest and most reckless of the populace. Titus Annius, too, a man of no high character or sobriety, but held to be invincible in arguments carried on by question and answer, challenged Tiberius to a judicial wager,[1] solemnly asserting that he had branded with infamy his colleague, who was sacred and inviolable by law. As many senators applauded this speech, Tiberius dashed out of the senate-house, called the people together, and ordered Annius to be brought before them, with the intention of denouncing him. But Annius, who was far inferior to Tiberius both in eloquence and in reputation, had recourse to his own particular art, and called upon Tiberius to answer a few questions before the argument began. Tiberius assented to this and silence was made, whereupon Annius said: "If thou wish to heap insult upon me and degrade me, and I invoke the aid of one of thy colleagues in office, and he mount the rostra to speak in my defence, and thou fly into a passion, come, wilt thou deprive that colleague of his office?" At this question, we are told, Tiberius was so disconcerted that, although he was of all men most ready in speech and most vehement in courage, he held his peace.

XV. For the present, then, he dissolved the assembly; but perceiving that the course he had taken with regard to Octavius was very displeasing, not only to the nobles, but also to the multitude (for

[1] Cf. the *Cato Major*, xxii. 5.

ἐδόκει τὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀξίωμα μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης διατετηρημένον ἀνῃρῆσθαι καὶ καθυβρίσθαι), λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διεξῆλθεν, οὗ μικρὰ παραθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων οὐκ ἄτοπον ἦν, ὥστε ὑπονοηθῆναι τὴν πιθανότητα καὶ πυκνό-
2 *τητα τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἔφη γὰρ ἱερὸν τὸν δήμαρχον εἶναι καὶ ἄσυλον, ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ καθωσίωται καὶ τοῦ δήμου προέστηκεν. ἂν οὖν μεταβαλόμενος τὸν δῆμον ἀδικῇ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν κολούῃ καὶ παραιρῆται τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπεστέρηκε*
3 *τῆς τιμῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔλαβεν οὐ ποιῶν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον κατασκάπτοντα καὶ τὸ νεώριον ἐμπιπράντα δήμαρχον ἐᾶν δεήσει. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιῶν δήμαρχός ἐστι πονηρός· ἐὰν δὲ καταλύῃ τὸν δῆμον, οὐ δήμαρχός ἐστι. πῶς οὖν οὐ δεινὸν εἰ τὸν μὲν ὕπατον ὁ δήμαρχος ἄξει, τὸν δὲ δήμαρχον οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ δῆμος ὅταν αὐτῇ κατὰ τοῦ δεδωκότος χρῆται; καὶ γὰρ ὕπατον καὶ δήμαρχον*
4 *ὁμοίως ὁ δῆμος αἱρεῖται. καὶ μὴν ἥ γε βασιλεία πρὸς τῷ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ συλλαβοῦσα καὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἱερουργίαις καθωσίωται πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλὰ Ταρκύνιον ἐξέβαλεν ἡ πόλις ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ὕβριν ἡ πάτριος ἀρχὴ καὶ κτίσασα τὴν Ῥώμην κατελύθη. τί δὲ οὕτως ἅγιον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ σεμνὸν ὡς αἱ περιέπουσαι παρθένοι καὶ φυλάττουσαι τὸ ἄφθιτον πῦρ; ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἂν ἁμάρτῃ αὐτῶν, ζῶσα κατο-*

it was thought that the high and honourable dignity of the tribunate, so carefully guarded up to that time, had been insulted and destroyed), he made a lengthy speech before the people, a few of the arguments of which it will not be out of place to lay before the reader, that he may get a conception of the man's subtlety and persuasiveness. A tribune, he said, was sacred and inviolable, because he was consecrated to the people and was a champion of the people. "If, then," said Tiberius, "he should change about, wrong the people, maim its power, and rob it of the privilege of voting, he has by his own acts deprived himself of his honourable office by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it; for otherwise there would be no interference with a tribune even though he should try to demolish the Capitol or set fire to the naval arsenal. If a tribune does these things, he is a bad tribune; but if he annuls the power of the people, he is no tribune at all. Is it not, then, a monstrous thing that a tribune should have power to hale a consul to prison, while the people cannot deprive a tribune of his power when he employs it against the very ones who bestowed it? For consul and tribune alike are elected by the people. And surely the kingly office, besides comprehending in itself every civil function, is also consecrated to the Deity by the performance of the most solemn religious rites; and yet Tarquin was expelled by the city for his wrong-doing, and because of one man's insolence the power which had founded Rome and descended from father to son was overthrown. Again, what institution at Rome is so holy and venerable as that of the virgins who tend and watch the undying fire? And yet if one of these

ρύσσεται· τὸ γὰρ ἄσυλον οὐ φυλάττουσιν ἀσε-
βοῦσαι εἰς τοὺς θεούς, ὃ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχουσιν.
5 οὔκουν οὐδὲ δήμαρχος ἀδικῶν τὸν δῆμον[1] ἔχειν
τὴν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἀσυλίαν δίκαιός ἐστιν· ᾗ γὰρ
ἰσχύει δυνάμει, ταύτην ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ μὴν εἰ δι-
καίως ἔλαβε τὴν δημαρχίαν, τῶν πλείστων
φυλῶν ψηφισαμένων, πῶς οὐχὶ κἂν ἀφαιρεθείη
6 δικαιότερον πασῶν ἀποψηφισαμένων; ἱερὸν δὲ 832
καὶ ἄσυλον οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐστὶν ὡς τὰ τῶν θεῶν
ἀναθήματα· χρῆσθαι δὲ τούτοις καὶ κινεῖν καὶ
μεταφέρειν ὡς βούλεται, τὸν δῆμον οὐδεὶς κεκώ-
λυκεν. ἐξῆν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν δημαρχίαν ὡς
ἀνάθημα μετενεγκεῖν εἰς ἕτερον. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ
ἄσυλον οὐδὲ ἀναφαίρετον ἡ ἀρχή, δῆλόν ἐστι τῷ
πολλάκις ἔχοντας ἀρχήν τινας ἐξόμνυσθαι καὶ
παραιτεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῶν.

XVI. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ κεφάλαια τῆς τοῦ
Τιβερίου δικαιολογίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνορῶντες οἱ
φίλοι τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ᾤοντο δεῖν
ἑτέρας περιέχεσθαι δημαρχίας εἰς τὸ μέλλον,
αὖθις ἄλλοις νόμοις ἀνελάμβανε τὸ πλῆθος, τοῦ
τε χρόνου τῶν στρατειῶν ἀφαιρῶν, καὶ διδοὺς
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, καὶ
τοῖς κρίνουσι τότε, συγκλητικοῖς οὖσι, κατα-
2 μιγνὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμόν, καὶ
πάντα τρόπον ἤδη τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἰσχὺν κολούων

[1] τὸν δῆμον Cobet: δῆμον.

breaks her vows, she is buried alive; for when they sin against the gods, they do not preserve that inviolable character which is given them for their service to the gods. Therefore it is not just that a tribune who wrongs the people should retain that inviolable character which is given him for service to the people, since he is destroying the very power which is the source of his own power. And surely, if it is right for him to be made tribune by a majority of the votes of the tribes, it must be even more right for him to be deprived of his tribuneship by a unanimous vote. And again, nothing is so sacred and inviolate as objects consecrated to the gods; and yet no one has hindered the people from using such objects, or moving them, or changing their position in such manner as may be desired. It is therefore permissible for the people to transfer the tribunate also, as a consecrated thing, from one man to another. And that the office is not inviolable or irremovable is plain from the fact that many times men holding it resign it under oath of disability, and of their own accord beg to be relieved of it."

XVI. Such were the chief points in the justification of his course which Tiberius made. And now his friends, observing the threats and the hostile combination against him, thought that he ought to be made tribune again for the following year. Once more, therefore, Tiberius sought to win the favour of the multitude by fresh laws, reducing the time of military service, granting appeal to the people from the verdicts of the judges, adding to the judges, who at that time were composed of senators only, an equal number from the equestrian order, and in every way at length trying to maim the power of the senate

πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος λογισμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ψήφου φερομένης ᾔσθοντο τοὺς ἐναντίους κρατοῦντας (οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος), πρῶτον μὲν εἰς βλασφημίας τραπόμενοι τῶν συναρχόντων εἷλκον τὸν χρόνον· ἔπειτα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφῆκαν,
3 εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀπαντᾶν κελεύσαντες. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταβὰς ὁ Τιβέριος ἱκέτευε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος, ἔπειτα δεδοικέναι φήσας μὴ νυκτὸς ἐκκόψωσι τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ διαφθείρωσιν αὐτόν, οὕτω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέθηκεν ὥστε περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παμπόλλους τινὰς αὐλίσασθαι καὶ διανυκτερεῦσαι παραφυλάττοντας.

XVII. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ τὰς ὄρνιθας αἷς διαμαντεύονται κομίζων, καὶ προέβαλλε τροφὴν αὐταῖς. αἱ δ' οὐ προῆλθον, εἰ μὴ μία μόνη, διασείσαντος εὖ μάλα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀγγεῖον· οὐδὲ αὕτη δὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἔθιγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπάρασα τὴν ἀριστερὰν πτέρυγα καὶ παρατείνασα τὸ σκέλος πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον κατέφυγε. τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ προτέρου σημείου τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνέμνησεν.
2 ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ κράνος ᾧ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρῆτο, κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ διάσημον· εἰς τοῦτο καταδύντες ὄφεις ἔλαθον ἐντεκόντες ᾠά, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξεγλύψαντο. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς περὶ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐταράττετο. προῄει δὲ ὅμως, ἄνω τὸν δῆμον ἠθροῖσθαι περὶ τὸ Καπετώ-
3 λιον πυνθανόμενος· καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν προσέπταισε πρὸς τὸν οὐδόν, σφοδρᾶς οὕτω πληγῆς γενομένης ὥστε τὸν μὲν ὄνυχα τοῦ μεγάλου δακ-

from motives of anger and contentiousness rather than from calculations of justice and the public good. And when, as the voting was going on, the friends of Tiberius perceived that their opponents were getting the better of the contest, since all the people were not present, in the first place they resorted to abuse of his fellow tribunes, and so protracted the time; next, they dismissed the assembly, and ordered that it should convene on the following day. Then Tiberius, going down into the forum, at first supplicated the citizens in a humble manner and with tears in his eyes; next, he declared he was afraid that his enemies would break into his house by night and kill him, and thereby so wrought upon his hearers that great numbers of them took up their station about his house and spent the night there on guard.

XVII. At break of day there came to the house the man who brought the birds with which auspices are taken, and threw food before them. But the birds would not come out of the cage, with the exception of one, though the keeper shook the cage right hard; and even the one that came out would not touch the food, but raised its left wing, stretched out its leg, and then ran back into the cage. This reminded Tiberius of an omen that had happened earlier. He had a helmet which he wore in battle, exceptionally adorned and splendid; into this serpents crawled unnoticed, laid eggs there and hatched them out. For this reason Tiberius was all the more disturbed by the signs from the birds. But nevertheless he set out, on learning that the people were assembled on the Capitol; and before he got out of the house, he stumbled against the threshold. The blow was so severe that the nail of his great toe

τύλου ῥαγῆναι, τὸ δὲ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ὑποδήματος
ἔξω φέρεσθαι. μικρὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ προελθόντος
ὤφθησαν ὑπὲρ κεράμου μαχόμενοι κόρακες ἐν
ἀριστερᾷ· καὶ πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀνθρώπων παρ-
ερχομένων, κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Τιβέριον λίθος
ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν κοράκων ἔπεσε παρὰ
τὸν πόδα. τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς θρασυτάτους τῶν περὶ
4 αὐτὸν ἐπέστησεν· ἀλλὰ Βλόσσιος ὁ Κυμαῖος
παρὼν αἰσχύνην ἔφη καὶ κατήφειαν ἂν εἶναι[1]
πολλὴν εἰ Τιβέριος, Γράγχου μὲν υἱός, Ἀφρι-
κανοῦ δὲ Σκηπίωνος θυγατριδοῦς, προστάτης δὲ
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου, κόρακα δείσας οὐχ ὑπακού-
σειε τοῖς πολίταις καλοῦσι· τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ
αἰσχρὸν οὐκ ἐν γέλωτι θήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
ἀλλ' ὡς τυραννοῦντος καὶ τρυφῶντος ἤδη κατα-
5 βοήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσέθεον
πολλοὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ
φίλων, ἐπείγεσθαι κελεύοντες, ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ καλῶς
ἐχόντων. καὶ τά γε πρῶτα λαμπρῶς ἀπήντα
τῷ Τιβερίῳ, φανέντι μὲν εὐθὺς ἀραμένων βοὴν
φίλιον, ἀναβαίνοντα δὲ προθύμως δεχομένων
καὶ περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς μηδεὶς πελάσειεν ἀγνώς,
παρατατομένων.

XVIII. Ἀρξαμένου δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Μουκίου
τὰς φυλὰς ἀναγορεύειν, οὐδὲν ἐπεραίνετο τῶν 833
εἰωθότων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων θόρυβον,
ὠθουμένων καὶ ὠθούντων τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰσβια-
ζομένους καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Φούλ-
βιος Φλάκκος ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἀνὴρ εἰς ἐμφανὲς
καταστάς, ὡς οὐκ ἦν φθεγγόμενον ἐφικέσθαι,

[1] ἂν εἶναι Cobet and Fuhr: [παρ]εῖναι.

was broken and the blood ran out through his shoe. He had gone on but a little way when ravens were seen fighting on the roof of a house to his left hand; and though there were many people, as was natural, passing by, a stone dislodged by one of the ravens fell at the foot of Tiberius himself. This caused even the boldest of his followers to pause; but Blossius of Cumae, who was present, said it would be a shame and a great disgrace if Tiberius, a son of Gracchus, a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a champion of the Roman people, for fear of a raven should refuse to obey the summons of his fellow citizens; such shameful conduct, moreover, would not be made a mere matter of ridicule by his enemies, but they would decry him to the people as one who was at last giving himself the airs of a tyrant. At the same time also many of his friends on the Capitol came running to Tiberius with urgent appeals to hasten thither, since matters there were going well. And in fact things turned out splendidly for Tiberius at first; as soon as he came into view the crowd raised a friendly shout, and as he came up the hill they gave him a cordial welcome and ranged themselves about him, that no stranger might approach.

XVIII. But after Mucius began once more to summon the tribes to the vote, none of the customary forms could be observed because of the disturbance that arose on the outskirts of the throng, where there was crowding back and forth between the friends of Tiberius and their opponents, who were striving to force their way in and mingle with the rest. Moreover, at this juncture Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, posted himself in a conspicuous place, and since it was impossible to make his voice heard so

διεσήμηνε τῇ χειρὶ φράσαι τι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν
2 ἰδίᾳ τῷ Τιβερίῳ. καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου διασχεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀναβὰς μόλις καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθεζομένης οἱ πλούσιοι, τὸν ὕπατον μὴ πείθοντες, αὐτοὶ διανοοῦνται καθ' αὑτοὺς ἀποκτιννύναι τὸν Τιβέριον, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δούλους καὶ φίλους ὡπλισμένους ἔχοντες.

XIX. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐξήγγειλεν ὁ Τιβέριος, οὗτοι μὲν εὐθὺς τάς τε τηβέννους περιεζώννυντο, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δόρατα συγκλῶντες οἷς ἀνείργουσι τὸν ὄχλον, διελάμβανον ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι τοῖς κλάσμασι τοὺς ἐπερ-
2 χομένους. τῶν δὲ ἀπωτέρω θαυμαζόντων τὰ γινόμενα καὶ πυνθανομένων, ὁ Τιβέριος ἥψατο τῇ χειρὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐνδεικνύμενος τῇ ὄψει τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ τῆς φωνῆς οὐκ ἐπήκουον. οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι τοῦτο ἰδόντες ἔθεον πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες αἰτεῖν διάδημα τὸν Τιβέριον· καὶ τούτου σημεῖον εἶναι τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιθιγγά-
3 νειν. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐθορυβήθησαν· ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς ἠξίου τὸν ὕπατον τῇ πόλει βοηθεῖν καὶ καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ πρᾴως ἐκείνου βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ὑπάρξειν οὐδὲ ἀναιρήσειν οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον, εἰ μέντοι ψηφίσαιτό τι τῶν παρανόμων ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου πεισθεὶς ἢ βιασθείς, τοῦτο κύριον μὴ φυλάξειν, ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Νασικᾶς, "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "προδίδωσιν ὁ ἄρχων τὴν πόλιν, οἱ βουλό-

far, indicated with his hand that he wished to tell Tiberius something meant for his ear alone. Tiberius ordered the crowd to part for Flavius, who made his way up to him with difficulty, and told him that at a session of the senate the party of the rich, since they could not prevail upon the consul to do so, were purposing to kill Tiberius themselves, and for this purpose had under arms a multitude of their friends and slaves.

XIX. Tiberius, accordingly, reported this to those who stood about him, and they at once girded up their togas, and breaking in pieces the spear-shafts with which the officers keep back the crowd, distributed the fragments among themselves, that they might defend themselves against their assailants. Those who were farther off, however, wondered at what was going on and asked what it meant. Whereupon Tiberius put his hand to his head, making this visible sign that his life was in danger, since the questioners could not hear his voice. But his opponents, on seeing this, ran to the senate and told that body that Tiberius was asking for a crown; and that his putting his hand to his head was a sign having that meaning. All the senators, of course, were greatly disturbed, and Nasica demanded that the consul should come to the rescue of the state and put down the tyrant. The consul replied with mildness that he would resort to no violence and would put no citizen to death without a trial; if, however, the people, under persuasion or compulsion from Tiberius, should vote anything that was unlawful, he would not regard this vote as binding. Thereupon Nasica sprang to his feet and said: "Since, then, the chief magistrate betrays the state, do ye

4 μενοι τοῖς νόμοις βοηθεῖν ἀκολουθεῖτε.” καὶ
ταῦτα λέγων ἅμα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου
θέμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ Καπε-
τώλιον. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν ἑπομένων αὐτῷ τῇ χειρὶ
τὴν τήβεννον περιελίξας ἐώθει τοὺς ἐμποδών,
οὐδενὸς ἐνισταμένου πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ πατούντων ἀλλήλους.
5 Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοὺς ῥόπαλα καὶ σκυτάλας
ἐκόμιζον οἴκοθεν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν δίφρων καταγνυ-
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος ὄχλου τὰ κλάσματα
καὶ τοὺς πόδας λαμβάνοντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν
Τιβέριον, ἅμα παίοντες τοὺς προτεταγμένους.
καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν τροπὴ καὶ φόνος· αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ
Τιβερίου φεύγοντος ἀντελάβετό τις τῶν ἱματίων.
6 ὁ δὲ τὴν τήβεννον ἀφεὶς καὶ φεύγων ἐν τοῖς
χιτῶσιν ἐσφάλη καὶ κατηνέχθη περί τινας τῶν
πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας. ἀνιστάμενον δὲ αὐτὸν
ὁ μὲν ἐμφανῶς καὶ πρῶτος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν
πατάξας ποδὶ δίφρου Πόπλιος ἦν Σατυρήϊος εἷς
τῶν συναρχόντων· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἀντεποιεῖτο
πληγῆς Λεύκιος Ῥοῦφος, ὡς ἐπὶ καλῷ τινι
σεμνυνόμενος. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ τρια-
κοσίους ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις συγκοπέντες, σιδήρῳ δὲ
οὐδείς.

XX. Ταύτην πρώτην ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν, ἀφʼ οὗ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι κατέλυσαν, αἵματι καὶ φόνῳ πολιτῶν διακριθῆναι· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οὔτε μικρὰς οὔτε περὶ μικρῶν γενομένας ἀνθυπείκοντες ἀλλήλοις, φόβῳ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολλῶν, αἰδούμενοι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δῆμος, ἔπαυον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τότε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐνδοῦναι παρη-

who wish to succour the laws follow me." With these words he covered his head with the skirt of his toga and set out for the Capitol. All the senators who followed him wrapped their togas about their left arms and pushed aside those who stood in their path, no man opposing them, in view of their dignity, but all taking to flight and trampling upon one another.

Now, the attendants of the senators carried clubs and staves which they had brought from home; but the senators themselves seized the fragments and legs of the benches that were shattered by the crowd in its flight, and went up against Tiberius, at the same time smiting those who were drawn up to protect him. Of these there was a rout and a slaughter; and as Tiberius himself turned to fly, someone laid hold of his garments. So he let his toga go and fled in his tunic. But he stumbled and fell to the ground among some bodies that lay in front of him. As he strove to rise to his feet, he received his first blow, as everybody admits, from Publius Satyreius, one of his colleagues, who smote him on the head with the leg of a bench; to the second blow claim was made by Lucius Rufus, who plumed himself upon it as upon some noble deed. And of the rest more than three hundred were slain by blows from sticks and stones, but not one by the sword.

XX. This is said to have been the first sedition at Rome, since the abolition of royal power, to end in bloodshed and the death of citizens; the rest, though neither trifling nor raised for trifling objects, were settled by mutual concessions, the nobles yielding from fear of the multitude, and the people out of respect for the senate. And it was thought that even

γορηθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος, ἔτι δὲ ῥᾷον εἶξαι δίχα φόνου
2 καὶ τραυμάτων ἐπιοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ πλείονες ἢ
τρισχίλιοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὀργῇ
τῶν πλουσίων καὶ μίσει πλέον ἢ δι' ἃς ἐσκήπ-
τοντο προφάσεις ἡ σύστασις ἐπ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι·
καὶ τούτου μέγα τεκμήριον ὠμῶς καὶ παρανόμως
ὑβρισθεὶς ὁ νεκρός. οὐ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψαν ἀνελέσθαι 834
τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ δεομένῳ καὶ θάψαι νυκτός,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
3 ἔρριψαν. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
φίλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐξεκήρυττον ἀκρίτους, τοὺς
δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπεκτίννυσαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ
Διοφάνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀπώλετο. Γάϊον δέ τινα
Βίλλιον εἰς ἀγγεῖον καθείρξαντες καὶ συνεμβα-
λόντες ἐχίδνας καὶ δράκοντας οὕτω διέφθειραν.
ὁ δὲ Κυμαῖος Βλόσσιος ἀνήχθη μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ὑπάτους, ἐρωτώμενος δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων
ὡμολόγει πεποιηκέναι πάντα Τιβερίου κελεύοντος.
4 εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Νασικᾶ πρὸς αὐτόν, "Τί οὖν, εἴ
σε Τιβέριος ἐκέλευσεν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ Καπετώλιον;"
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο Τιβε-
ρίου κελεύσαντος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πολλῶν τὸ
αὐτὸ πυνθανομένων, "'Αλλ' ἐκείνου γε προστάσ-
σοντος," ἔφη, "κἀμοὶ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καλῶς εἶχεν·
οὐ γὰρ ἂν Τιβέριος τοῦτο προσέταξεν, εἰ μὴ τῷ
δήμῳ συνέφερεν." οὗτος μὲν οὖν διαφυγὼν ὕστε-

on this occasion Tiberius would have given way without difficulty had persuasion been brought to bear upon him, and would have yielded still more easily if his assailants had not resorted to wounds and bloodshed; for his adherents numbered not more than three thousand. But the combination against him would seem to have arisen from the hatred and anger of the rich rather than from the pretexts which they alleged; and there is strong proof of this in their lawless and savage treatment of his dead body. For they would not listen to his brother's request that he might take up the body and bury it by night, but threw it into the river along with the other dead. Nor was this all; they banished some of his friends without a trial and others they arrested and put to death. Among these Diophanes the rhetorician also perished. A certain Caius Villius they shut up in a cage, and then put in vipers and serpents, and in this way killed him. Blossius of Cumae was brought before the consuls, and when he was asked about what had passed, he admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. Then Nasica said to him, "What, then, if Tiberius had ordered thee to set fire to the Capitol?" Blossius at first replied that Tiberius would not have given such an order; but when the same question was put to him often and by many persons, he said: "If such a man as Tiberius had ordered such a thing, it would also have been right for me to do it; for Tiberius would not have given such an order if it had not been for the interest of the people."[1] Well, then, Blossius was acquitted, and afterwards went to

[1] For the story of Blossius, cf. Cicero, *De am.* 11. 37; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7. 1.

ρον ᾤχετο πρὸς Ἀριστόνικον εἰς Ἀσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων διαφθαρέντων ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν.

XXI. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ θεραπεύουσα τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε πρὸς τὴν διανομὴν ἔτι τῆς χώρας ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου προὔθηκε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁριστὴν ἑλέσθαι. λαβόντες δὲ τὰς ψήφους εἵλοντο Πόπλιον Κράσσον, οἰκεῖον ὄντα Γράγχῳ· θυγάτηρ γὰρ αὐτοῦ Λικιννία Γαΐῳ
2 Γράγχῳ συνῴκει. καίτοι Νέπως ὁ Κορνήλιός φησιν οὐ Κράσσου, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ θριαμβεύσαντος ἀπὸ Λυσιτανῶν θυγατέρα γῆμαι Γάϊον· ἀλλὰ οἱ πλείους ὡς ἡμεῖς γράφομεν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἀμύνης περιμένων καιρόν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δίκαι τῷ Νασικᾷ προανεσείοντο, δείσασα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίζεται μηδὲν δεομένη πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν.
3 οὐ γὰρ ἀπεκρύπτοντο κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὴν δυσμένειαν, ἀλλ' ἐξηγριαίνοντο καὶ κατεβόων ὅπου προστύχοιεν, ἐναγῆ καὶ τύραννον καὶ μεμιαγκότα φόνῳ σώματος ἀσύλου καὶ ἱεροῦ τὸ ἁγιώτατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποκαλοῦντες. οὕτω μὲν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ Νασικᾶς, καίπερ ἐνδεδεμένος ταῖς μεγίσταις ἱερουργίαις· ἦν γὰρ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἱερέων. ἔξω δὲ ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος ἀδόξως οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον κατέστρεψε
4 περὶ Πέργαμον. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ Νασικᾶν

Aristonicus[1] in Asia, and when the cause of Aristonicus was lost, slew himself.

XXI. But the senate, trying to conciliate the people now that matters had gone so far, no longer opposed the distribution of the public land, and proposed that the people should elect a commissioner in place of Tiberius. So they took a ballot and elected Publius Crassus, who was a relative of Gracchus; for his daughter Licinia was the wife of Caius Gracchus. And yet Cornelius Nepos[2] says that it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of the Brutus who triumphed over the Lusitanians, whom Caius married; the majority of writers, however, state the matter as I have done. Moreover, since the people felt bitterly over the death of Tiberius and were clearly awaiting an opportunity for revenge, and since Nasica was already threatened with prosecutions, the senate, fearing for his safety, voted to send him to Asia, although it had no need of him there. For when people met Nasica, they did not try to hide their hatred of him, but grew savage and cried out upon him wherever he chanced to be, calling him an accursed man and a tyrant, who had defiled with the murder of an inviolable and sacred person the holiest and most awe-inspiring of the city's sanctuaries. And so Nasica stealthily left Italy, although he was bound there by the most important and sacred functions; for he was pontifex maximus. He roamed and wandered about in foreign lands ignominiously, and after a short time ended his life at Pergamum. Now, it is no wonder that the people so much hated

[1] The pretender to the throne of Attalus Philometor (xiv. 1). He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Romans in 130 B.C.
[2] In a lost biography.

μεμίσηκεν οὕτως ὁ δῆμος, ὅπου καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός, οὗ δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι μηδένα δικαιότερον μηδὲ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῆσαι, παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ στέρεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Νομαντίᾳ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου πυθόμενος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐκ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν·

ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι,

5 *ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ Γάϊον καὶ Φούλβιον αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκκλησίας πυνθανομένων τί φρονοίη περὶ τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆς, οὐκ ἀρεσκομένην τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεπολιτευμένοις ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, μηδέπω τοῦτο ποιήσας πρότερον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰπεῖν κακῶς προήχθη. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τῷ Σκηπίωνος βίῳ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα γέγραπται.*

Γ. ΓΡΑΓΧΟΣ

I. *Γάϊος δὲ Γράγχος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἢ δεδιὼς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ φθόνον συνάγων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπεξέστη τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἔχων διέτριβεν, ὡς ἂν τις ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀπραγμόνως βιωσόμενος, ὥστε καὶ λόγον τισὶ καθ'* 835 *αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν ὡς δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ προβε-*
2 *βλημένου τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου πολιτείαν. ἦν δὲ*

Nasica, when even Scipio Africanus, than whom no one would seem to have been more justly or more deeply loved by the Romans, came within a little of forfeiting and losing the popular favour because, to begin with, at Numantia, when he learned of the death of Tiberius, he recited in a loud voice the verse of Homer[1]:—

> "So perish also all others who on such wickedness venture,"

and because, in the second place, when Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people what he thought about the death of Tiberius, he made a reply which showed his dislike of the measures advocated by him. Consequently the people began to interrupt him as he was speaking, a thing which they had never done before, and Scipio himself was thereby led on to abuse the people. Of these matters I have written circumstantially in my Life of Scipio.[2]

CAIUS GRACCHUS

I. Caius Gracchus, at first, either because he feared his enemies, or because he wished to bring odium upon them, withdrew from the forum and lived quietly by himself, like one who was humbled for the present and for the future intended to live the same inactive life, so that some were actually led to denounce him for disliking and repudiating his brother's political measures. And he was also

[1] *Odyssey*, i. 47 (Athena, of Aegisthus).
[2] One of the lost biographies.

καὶ μειράκιον παντάπασιν· ἐννέα γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐλείπετο τἀδελφοῦ καθ' ἡλικίαν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὔπω τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἀπέθανεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου τόν τε τρόπον ἡσυχῇ διέφαινεν ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας καὶ πότων καὶ χρηματισμῶν ἀλλότριον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν λόγον ὥσπερ ὠκύπτερα κατασκευαζόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν δῆλος ἦν
3 οὐκ ἠρεμήσων, δίκην τέ τινι τῶν φίλων φεύγοντι Βεττίῳ συνειπών, τοῦ δήμου συνενθουσιῶντος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ βακχεύοντος περὶ αὐτόν, ἀπέδειξε τοὺς ἄλλους ῥήτορας παίδων μηδὲν διαφέροντας, εἰς φόβον αὖθις οἱ δυνατοὶ καθίσταντο, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ὡς οὐκ ἐάσουσιν ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν τὸν Γάϊον προελθεῖν.

4 Συντυγχάνει δὲ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου λαχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Σαρδὼ ταμίαν Ὀρέστῃ τῷ ὑπάτῳ· καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐγεγόνει, τὸν δὲ Γάϊον οὐκ ἐλύπησεν. ἅτε γὰρ ὢν πολεμικὸς καὶ χεῖρον οὐδὲν πρὸς στρατείας ἠσκημένος ἢ δίκας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸ βῆμα φρίττων, ἀντέχειν δὲ καλοῦντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὐ δυνάμενος, παντάπασι τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐκείνην
5 ἠγάπησε. καίτοι κρατεῖ δόξα πολλὴ τοῦτον ἄκρατον γενέσθαι δημαγωγόν, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Τιβερίου λαμπρότερον πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄχλων δόξαν. οὐκ ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὸ ἀληθές· ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς μᾶλλον οὗτος ἢ προαιρέσεως
6 ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ὡς ἄρα φεύγοντι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν τῷ Γαΐῳ καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ᾑρημένῳ ζῆν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὄναρ φανεὶς καὶ προσαγορεύσας, "Τί δῆτα,"

quite a stripling, for he was nine years younger than his brother, and Tiberius was not yet thirty when he died. But as time went on he gradually showed a disposition that was averse to idleness, effeminacy, wine-bibbing, and money-making; and by preparing his oratory to waft him as on swift pinions to public life, he made it clear that he was not going to remain quiet; and in defending Vettius, a friend of his who was under prosecution, he had the people about him inspired and frantic with sympathetic delight, and made the other orators appear to be no better than children. Once more, therefore, the nobles began to be alarmed, and there was much talk among them about not permitting Caius to be made tribune.

By accident, however, it happened that the lot fell on him to go to Sardinia as quaestor for Orestes the consul.[1] This gave pleasure to his enemies, and did not annoy Caius. For he was fond of war, and quite as well trained for military service as for pleading in the courts. Moreover, he still shrank from public life and the rostra, but was unable to resist the calls to this career which came from the people and his friends. He was therefore altogether satisfied with this opportunity of leaving the city. And yet a strong opinion prevails that he was a demagogue pure and simple, and far more eager than Tiberius to win the favour of the multitude. But this is not the truth; nay, it would appear that he was led by a certain necessity rather than by his own choice to engage in public matters. And Cicero the orator also relates[2] that Caius declined all office and had chosen to live a quiet life, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and addressed him, saying: "Why, pray, dost

[1] In 126 B.C. [2] *De div.* i. 26, 56.

φαίη, "Γάϊε, βραδύνεις; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπόδρασις, ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις βίος, εἷς δὲ θάνατος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευομένοις πέπρωται."

II. Γενόμενος οὖν ὁ Γάϊος ἐν Σαρδόνι πᾶσαν ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολὺ πάντων διέφερε τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγῶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους δικαίοις καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, σωφροσύνῃ δὲ καὶ λιτότητι καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ παρήλλαττε καὶ
2 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. ἰσχυροῦ δὲ καὶ νοσώδους ἅμα χειμῶνος ἐν Σαρδόνι γενομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰς πόλεις ἐσθῆτα τοῖς στρατιώταις αἰτοῦντος, ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ῥώμην παραιτούμενοι. δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν παραίτησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλοθεν ἀμφιέζειν τοὺς στρατιώτας κελευούσης, ἀποροῦντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κακοπαθούντων, ἐπελθὼν τὰς πόλεις ὁ Γάϊος αὐτοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησεν ἐσθῆτα
3 πέμψαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα καὶ δοκοῦντα δημαγωγίας προάγωνες εἶναι διετάραττε τὴν βουλήν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης παρὰ Μικίψα τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις παραγενομένους, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς χάριτι Γαΐου Γράγχου πέμψειεν εἰς Σαρδόνα σῖτον τῷ στρατηγῷ, δυσχεραίνοντες ἐξέβαλον· ἔπειτα δόγμα ποιοῦνται τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις διαδοχὴν ἀποσταλῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστην ἐπιμένειν, ὡς δὴ καὶ τοῦ Γαΐου διὰ τὴν
4 ἀρχὴν παραμενοῦντος. ὁ δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων εὐθὺς ἐξέπλευσε πρὸς ὀργήν, καὶ φανεὶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρ' ἐλπίδας οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν

thou hesitate, Caius? There is no escape; one life is fated for us both, and one death, as champions of the people."

II. After reaching Sardinia, then, Caius gave proof of every excellence, and far surpassed all the other young men in conflicts with the enemy, in just dealings with the subject peoples, and in the good will and respect which he showed towards his commander, while in self-restraint, frugality, and industry, he excelled even his elders. The winter in Sardinia proved to be rigorous and unhealthy, and the Roman commander made a requisition upon the cities of clothing for his soldiers, whereupon the cities sent to Rome and begged to be relieved from the exaction. The senate granted their petition and ordered the commander to get clothing for his soldiers in some other way. The commander was at a loss what to do, and the soldiers were suffering; so Caius made a circuit of the cities and induced them of their own free will to send clothing and other assistance to the Romans. This was reported to Rome, where it was thought to be a prelude to a struggle for popular favour, and gave fresh concern to the senate. So, to begin with, when ambassadors of King Micipsa came from Africa, and announced that out of regard for Caius Gracchus the king had sent grain to the Roman commander in Sardinia, the senators were displeased and turned them away. In the second place, they passed a decree that fresh troops should be sent to relieve the soldiers in Sardinia, but that Orestes should remain, with the idea that Caius also would remain with him by virtue of his office. But Caius, when this came to his ears, straightway sailed off in a passion, and his unexpected appearance in Rome

αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλόκοτον ἐδόκει τὸ ταμίαν ὄντα προαποστῆναι τοῦ ἄρχοντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κατηγορίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐπὶ τῶν τιμητῶν, αἰτησάμενος λόγον οὕτω μετέστησε τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀκουσάντων ὡς ἀπελθεῖν ἠδικῆσθαι
5 τὰ μέγιστα δόξας. ἐστρατεῦσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἔφη δώδεκα ἔτη, τῶν ἄλλων δέκα στρατευομένων ἐν 836
ἀνάγκαις, ταμιεύων δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ παραμεμενηκέναι τριετίαν, τοῦ νόμου μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν διδόντος· μόνος δὲ τῶν στρατευσαμένων πλῆρες τὸ βαλάντιον εἰσενηνοχὼς κενὸν ἐξενηνοχέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπιόντας ὃν εἰσήνεγκαν οἶνον, ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου μεστοὺς δεῦρο τοὺς ἀμφορεῖς ἥκειν κομίζοντας.

III. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἄλλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ καὶ δίκας ἐπῆγον ὡς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀφιστάντι καὶ κεκοινωνηκότι τῆς περὶ Φρέγελλαν ἐνδειχθείσης συνωμοσίας. ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν ἀπολυσάμενος καὶ φανεὶς καθαρὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν ὥρμησε, τῶν μὲν γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν ὁμαλῶς ἁπάντων ἐναντιουμένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὄχλου δὲ τοσούτου συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος ὡς πολλοῖς μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπιλιπεῖν, τοῦ δὲ πεδίου μὴ δεξαμένου τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν καὶ τῶν κεράμων τὰς φωνὰς συνη-
2 χεῖν. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν ἐξεβιάσαντο τὸν δῆμον οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Γαΐου καθεῖλον, ὅσον

not only was censured by his enemies, but also made the people think it strange that he, quaestor as he was, had left his post before his commander. However, when he was denounced before the censors, he begged leave to speak, and wrought such a change in the opinions of his hearers that he left the court with the reputation of having been most grossly wronged. For he said that he had served in the army twelve years, although other men were required to serve there only ten, and that he had continued to serve as quaestor under his commander for more than two years, although the law permitted him to come back after a year. He was the only man in the army, he said, who had entered the campaign with a full purse and left it with an empty one; the rest had drunk up the wine which they took into Sardinia, and had come back to Rome with their wine-jars full of gold and silver.

III. After this, other fresh charges and indictments were brought against him, on the ground that he had caused the allies to revolt and had been privy to the conspiracy at Fregellae,[1] information of which was brought to Rome. But he cleared himself of all suspicion, and having established his entire innocence, immediately began a canvass for the tribuneship. All the men of note, without exception, were opposed to him, but so great a throng poured into the city from the country and took part in the elections that many could not be housed, and since the Campus Martius could not accommodate the multitude, they gave in their voices from the house-tops and tilings. So far, however, did the nobility prevail against the people and disappoint the hopes of Caius that he was not

[1] Fregellae revolted, and was destroyed in 125 B.C.

οὐχ, ὡς προσεδόκησε, πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τέταρτον ἀναγορευθῆναι. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἦν ἁπάντων πρῶτος, ἰσχύων τε τῷ λέγειν, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδείς, καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτῷ παρρησίαν πολλὴν διδόντος ἀνακλαιομένῳ τὸν ἀδελφόν.
3 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξ ἁπάσης προφάσεως περιῆγε τὸν δῆμον, ἀναμιμνήσκων τῶν γεγονότων καὶ παρατιθεὶς τὰ τῶν προγόνων, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ Φαλίσκοις ἐπολέμησαν ὑπὲρ Γεννκίου τινὸς δημάρχου λοιδορηθέντος, καὶ Γαΐου Βετουρίου θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὅτι δημάρχῳ πορευομένῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς οὐχ ὑπεξέστη μόνος· "Ὑμῶν δὲ ὁρώντων," ἔφη, "Τιβέριον ξύλοις συνέκοπτον οὗτοι, καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐσύρετο νεκρὸς ἐκ Καπετωλίου ῥιφη-
4 σόμενος εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ ἁλισκόμενοι τῶν φίλων ἀπέθνησκον ἄκριτοι. καίτοι πάτριόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἴ τις ἔχων δίκην θανατικὴν μὴ ὑπακούει, τούτου πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἕωθεν ἐλθόντα σαλπιγκτὴν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἐπιφέρειν ψῆφον αὐτῷ τοὺς δικαστάς. οὕτως εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πεφυλαγμένοι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἦσαν."

IV. Τοιούτοις λόγοις προανασείσας τὸν δῆμον (ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος, καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν), δύο νόμους εἰσέφερε, τὸν μέν, εἴ τινος ἄρχοντος ἀφῃρῆτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἐῶντα τούτῳ δευτέρας ἀρχῆς μετουσίαν εἶναι· τὸν

returned first, as he expected, but fourth. But after entering upon his office[1] he was at once first of all the tribunes, since he had an incomparable power in oratory, and his affliction gave him great boldness of speech in bewailing the fate of his brother. For to this subject he would bring the people round on every pretext, reminding them of what had happened in the case of Tiberius, and contrasting the conduct of their ancestors, who went to war with the people of Falerii on behalf of Genucius, a tribune whom they had insulted, and condemned Caius Veturius to death because he was the only man who would not make way for a tribune passing through the forum. "But before your eyes," he said, "these men beat Tiberius to death with clubs, and his dead body was dragged from the Capitol through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber; moreover, those of his friends who were caught were put to death without trial. And yet it is ancient usage among us that if anyone who is arraigned on a capital charge does not answer to his summons, a trumpeter shall go to the door of this man's house in the morning and summon him forth by sound of trumpet, and until this has been done the judges shall not vote on his case. So careful and guarded were the men of old in capital cases."

IV. Having first stirred up the people with such words as these (and he had a very loud voice, and was most vigorous in his speaking), he introduced two laws, one providing that if the people had deprived any magistrate of his office, such magistrate should not be allowed to hold office a second time;

[1] For the year 123 B.C., ten years after Tiberius had entered upon the same office.

δέ, εἴ τις ἄρχων ἄκριτον ἐκκεκηρύχοι πολίτην,
2 κατ' αὐτοῦ διδόντα κρίσιν τῷ δήμῳ. τούτων τῶν νόμων ἄντικρυς ὁ μὲν Μάρκον Ὀκτάβιον ἠτίμου τὸν ὑπὸ Τιβερίου τῆς δημαρχίας ἐκπεσόντα, τῷ δ' ἐνείχετο Ποπίλλιος· οὗτος γὰρ στρατηγῶν τοὺς τοῦ Τιβερίου φίλους ἐξεκήρυξε. καὶ Ποπίλλιος μὲν οὐχ ὑποστὰς τὴν κρίσιν ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον νόμον Γάϊος αὐτὸς ἐπανείλετο, φήσας τῇ μητρὶ Κορνηλίᾳ δεηθείσῃ χαρίζεσθαι
3 τὸν Ὀκτάβιον. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἠγάσθη καὶ συνεχώρησε, τιμῶν τὴν Κορνηλίαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τοῦ πατρός, ἧς γε καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα στήσας ὕστερον ἐπέγραψε Κορνηλίαν μητέρα Γράγχων. ἀπομνημονεύεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Γαΐου πολλὰ ῥητορικῶς καὶ ἀγοραίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰρημένα πρός τινα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· "Σύ γάρ," ἔφη, "Κορνη-
4 λίαν λοιδορεῖς τὴν Τιβέριον τεκοῦσαν;" ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβεβλημένος ἦν εἰς μαλακίαν ὁ λοιδορηθείς· "Τίνα δέ," εἶπεν, "ἔχων παρρησίαν συγκρίνεις Κορνηλίᾳ σεαυτόν; ἔτεκες γὰρ ὡς ἐκείνη; καὶ μὴν πάντες ἴσασι Ῥωμαῖοι πλείω χρόνον ἐκείνην ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οὖσαν ἢ σὲ τὸν ἄνδρα." τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ πικρία τῶν λόγων ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐστὶν ὅμοια.

V. Τῶν δὲ νόμων οὓς εἰσέφερε τῷ δήμῳ χαριζό- 837
μενος καὶ καταλύων τὴν σύγκλητον, ὁ μὲν ἦν κληρουχικὸς ἀνανέμων[1] τοῖς πένησι τὴν δημοσίαν, ὁ δὲ στρατιωτικὸς ἐσθῆτά τε κελεύων δημοσίᾳ

[1] ἀνανέμων Coraës and Bekker, after Du Soul, for the MSS. ἅμα νέμων. Ziegler adopts διανέμων, proposed by Sint.[2] and Cobet.

and another providing that if any magistrate had banished a citizen without trial, such magistrate should be liable to public prosecution. Of these laws, one had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deposed from the tribunate by Tiberius; and by the other Popillius was affected, for as praetor he had banished the friends of Tiberius. Popillius, indeed, without standing his trial, fled out of Italy; but the other law was withdrawn by Caius himself, who said that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were pleased at this and gave their consent, honouring Cornelia no less on account of her sons than because of her father; indeed, in after times they erected a bronze statue of her, bearing the inscription: "Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi." There are on record also many things which Caius said about her in the coarse style of forensic speech, when he was attacking one of his enemies: "What," said he, "dost thou abuse Cornelia, who gave birth to Tiberius?" And since the one who had uttered the abuse was charged with effeminate practices, "With what effrontery," said Caius, "canst thou compare thyself with Cornelia? Hast thou borne such children as she did? And verily all Rome knows that she refrained from commerce with men longer than thou hast, though thou art a man." Such was the bitterness of his language, and many similar examples can be taken from his writings.

V. Of the laws which he proposed by way of gratifying the people and overthrowing the senate, one was agrarian, and divided the public land among the poor citizens; another was military, and ordained that clothing should be furnished to the soldiers at

χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῆς μισθοφορᾶς ὑφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν στρατευομένων, καὶ νεώτερον ἐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα μὴ καταλέγεσθαι στρατιώτην· ὁ δὲ συμμαχικὸς ἰσοψήφους ποιῶν τοῖς πολίταις
2 τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας. ὁ δὲ σιτικὸς ἐπευωνίζων τοῖς πένησι τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ δικαστικός, ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέκοψε τῆς τῶν συγκλητικῶν δυνάμεως. μόνοι γὰρ ἔκρινον τὰς δίκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβεροὶ τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ τριακοσίους τῶν ἱππέων προσκατέλεξεν αὐτοῖς οὖσι τριακοσίοις, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἑξακοσίων
3 ἐποίησε. τοῦτον τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρων τά τε ἄλλα λέγεται σπουδάσαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀφορώντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτιον, πρῶτος τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγορῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μικρᾷ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταθέσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενεγκὼν τρόπον τινὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐδέξατο τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνῳ τοὺς κρίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἔδωκε καταλέξαι, μοναρχική τις ἰσχὺς ἐγεγόνει περὶ αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον

the public cost, that nothing should be deducted from their pay to meet this charge, and that no one under seventeen should be enrolled as a soldier; another concerned the allies, and gave the Italians equal suffrage rights with Roman citizens; another related to the supplies of grain, and lowered the market price to the poor; and another dealt with the appointment of judges. This last law most of all curtailed the power of the senators; for they alone could serve as judges in criminal cases, and this privilege made them formidable both to the common people and to the equestrian order. The law of Gracchus, however, added to the membership of the senate, which was three hundred, three hundred men from the equestrian order, and made service as judges a prerogative of the whole six hundred. In his efforts to carry this law Caius is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators before him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the "comitium," he now set a new example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

VI. The people not only adopted this law, but also entrusted to its author the selection of the judges who were to come from the equestrian order, so that he found himself invested with something like monarchical power, and even the senate

ἀνέχεσθαι συμβουλεύοντος αὐτοῦ. συνεβούλευε δὲ ἀεί τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ πρεπόντων εἰσηγούμενος·
2 οἷον ἦν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ σίτου δόγμα μετριώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον, ὃν ἔπεμψε μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας Φάβιος ἀντιστράτηγος, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἔπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ἀποδομένην τὸν σῖτον ἀναπέμψαι ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ προσεπαιτιάσασθαι τὸν Φάβιον ὡς ἐπαχθῆ καὶ ἀφόρητον ποιοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐφ' ᾧ μεγάλην ἔσχε δόξαν μετὰ εὐνοίας ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις.

3 Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀποικίδας ἐκπέμπεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατασκευάζεσθαι σιτοβόλια, τούτοις ἅπασι πραττομένοις αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ διοικητὴν ἐφιστάς, καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀποτρυόμενος τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστῷ τινι τάχει καὶ πόνῳ τῶν γινομένων ὡς μόνον ἕκαστον ἐξεργαζόμενος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ μισοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ δεδοικότας ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸ διὰ πάντων ἀνύσιμον καὶ τελεσιουργόν.
4 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν ἐθαύμαζον, ἐξηρτημένον ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ πλῆθος ἐργολάβων, τεχνιτῶν, πρεσβευτῶν, ἀρχόντων, στρατιωτῶν, φιλολόγων, οἷς πᾶσιν ἐντυγχάνων μετὰ εὐκολίας καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ διαφυλάττων, καὶ νέμων αὐτοῦ τὸ ἁρμόττον οἰκείως ἑκάστῳ, χαλεποὺς ἀπεδείκνυε συκοφάντας τοὺς φοβερὸν αὐτὸν ἢ φορτικὸν ὅλως ἢ βίαιον ἀποκαλοῦντας. οὕτω δεινότερος ἦν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ταῖς

consented to follow his counsel. But when he counselled them, it was always in support of measures befitting their body; as, for instance, the very equitable and honourable decree concerning the grain which Fabius the pro-praetor sent to the city from Spain. Caius induced the Senate to sell the grain and send the money back to the cities of Spain, and further, to censure Fabius for making his government of the province intolerably burdensome to its inhabitants. This decree brought Caius great reputation as well as popularity in the provinces.

He also introduced bills for sending out colonies, for constructing roads, and for establishing public granaries, making himself director and manager of all these undertakings, and showing no weariness in the execution of all these different and great enterprises; nay, he actually carried out each one of them with an astonishing speed and power of application, as if it were his sole business, so that even those who greatly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the powers of achievement and accomplishment which marked all that he did. And as for the multitude, they were astonished at the very sight, when they beheld him closely attended by a throng of contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and literary men, with all of whom he was on easy terms, preserving his dignity while showing kindliness, and rendering properly to every man the courtesy which was due from him, whereby he set in the light of malignant slanderers those who stigmatised him as threatening or utterly arrogant or violent. Thus he was a more skilful popular leader in his private intercourse with men

πράξεσιν ἢ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος λόγοις δημαγωγός.

VII. Ἐσπούδασε δὲ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ὁδοποιΐαν, τῆς τε χρείας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν καὶ κάλλος ἐπιμεληθείς. εὐθεῖαι γὰρ ἤγοντο διὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀτρεμεῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστόρνυτο πέτρᾳ ξεστῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄμμου χώμασι νακτῆς ἐπυκνοῦτο. πιμπλαμένων δὲ τῶν κοίλων καὶ ζευγνυμένων γεφύραις ὅσα χείμαρροι διέκοπτον ἢ φάραγγες, ὕψος τε τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἴσον καὶ παράλληλον λαμβανόντων, ὁμαλὴν καὶ καλὴν ὄψιν εἶχε δι' ὅλου τὸ ἔργον. 838
2 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διαμετρήσας κατὰ μίλιον ὁδὸν πᾶσαν (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτὼ σταδίων ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖ) κίονας λιθίνους σημεῖα τοῦ μέτρου κατέστησεν. ἄλλους δὲ λίθους ἔλαττον ἀπέχοντας ἀλλήλων ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διέθηκεν, ὡς εἴη ῥᾳδίως τοῖς ἵππους ἔχουσιν ἐπιβαίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναβολέως μὴ δεομένοις.

VIII. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ δήμου μεγαλύνοντος αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἑτοίμως ἔχοντος ἐνδείκνυσθαι πρὸς εὔνοιαν, ἔφη ποτὲ δημηγορῶν αὐτὸς αἰτήσειν χάριν, ἣν λαβὼν μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἕξειν, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, μηδὲν ἐκείνοις μεμψιμοιρήσειν. τοῦτο ῥηθὲν ἔδοξεν αἴτησις ὑπατείας εἶναι, καὶ προσδοκίαν πᾶσιν ὡς ἅμα μὲν ὑπατείαν, ἅμα δὲ
2 δημαρχίαν μετιὼν παρέσχεν. ἐνστάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καὶ μετεώρων ὄντων ἁπάντων ὤφθη Γάϊον Φάννιον κατάγων εἰς τὸ πεδίον

and in his business transactions than in his speeches from the rostra.

VII. But he busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance.

VIII. Since the people extolled him for all these services and were ready to show him any token whatsoever of their good will, he said to them once in a public harangue that he was going to ask a favour of them, which, if granted, he should value supremely, but if it were refused, he should find no fault with them. This utterance was thought to be a request for a consulship, and led everybody to expect that he would sue for a consulship and a tribuneship at the same time. But when the consular elections were at hand and everybody was on the tip-toe of expectation, he was seen leading Caius Fannius down into the Campus Martius and joining in the canvass for

καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάζων ἐκείνῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. τοῦτο ῥοπὴν ἤνεγκε τῷ Φαννίῳ μεγάλην. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ὕπατος, Γάϊος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη τὸ δεύτερον, οὐ παραγγέλλων οὐδὲ μετιών, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου σπουδάσαντος.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον ἐχθρὰν ἄντικρυς, ἀμβλὺν δὲ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ τὸν Φάννιον, αὖθις ἑτέροις νόμοις ἀπηρτήσατο τὸ πλῆθος, ἀποικίας μὲν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ Καπύην πέμπεσθαι γράφων, καλῶν δὲ ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας τοὺς Λατίνους. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δείσασα μὴ παντάπασιν ἄμαχος γένηται, καινὴν καὶ ἀσυνήθη πεῖραν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποτροπῆς, ἀντιδημαγωγοῦσα καὶ
4 χαριζομένη παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἦν γὰρ εἷς τῶν τοῦ Γαΐου συναρχόντων Λίβιος Δροῦσος, ἀνὴρ οὔτε γεγονὼς τινος Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τεθραμμένος χεῖρον, ἤθει[1] δὲ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῖς μάλιστα τιμωμένοις καὶ δυναμένοις ἀπὸ τούτων ἐνάμιλλος. ἐπὶ τοῦτον οὖν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι τρέπονται, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἅψασθαι τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συστῆναι, μὴ βιαζόμενον μηδὲ ἀντικρούοντα τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄρχοντα καὶ χαριζόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καλῶς εἶχεν.

IX. Ἐπιδοὺς οὖν ὁ Λίβιος εἰς ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δημαρχίαν νόμους ἔγραψεν οὔτε τῶν

[1] ἤθει Coraës and Bekker retain the old vulgate ἤδη.

him along with his friends. This turned the tide strongly in favour of Fannius. So Fannius was elected consul, and Caius tribune for the second time, though he was not a candidate and did not canvass for the office; but the people were eager to have it so.

However, he soon saw that the senate was hostile to him out and out, and that the good will of Fannius towards him had lost its edge, and therefore again began to attach the multitude to himself by other laws, proposing to send colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and inviting the Latins to a participation in the Roman franchise. But the senate, fearing that Gracchus would become altogether invincible, made a new and unusual attempt to divert the people from him; they vied with him, that is, in courting the favour of the people, and granted their wishes contrary to the best interests of the state. For one of the colleagues of Caius was Livius Drusus, a man who was not inferior to any Roman either in birth or rearing, while in character, eloquence, and wealth he could vie with those who were most honoured and influential in consequence of these advantages. To this man, accordingly, the nobles had recourse, and invited him to attack Caius and league himself with them against him, not resorting to violence or coming into collision with the people, but administering his office to please them and making them concessions where it would have been honourable to incur their hatred.

IX. Livius, accordingly, put his influence as tribune at the service of the senate to this end, and drew up laws which aimed at what was neither honourable

καλῶν τινος οὔτε τῶν λυσιτελῶν ἐχομένους, ἀλλὰ ἓν μόνον, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Γάϊον ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ, σπεύδων καὶ διαμιλλώμενος. ᾧ καὶ καταφανεστάτην ἐποίησεν ἑαυτὴν ἡ σύγκλητος οὐ δυσχεραίνουσαν τοῖς τοῦ Γαΐου πολιτεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν ἢ ταπεινῶσαι παντάπασι βουλομένην.
2 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀποικίας δύο γράψαντα καὶ τοὺς χαριεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσάγοντα δημοκοπεῖν ᾐτιῶντο, Λιβίῳ δὲ δώδεκα κατοικίζοντι καὶ τρισχιλίους εἰς ἑκάστην ἀποστέλλοντι τῶν ἀπόρων συνελαμβάνοντο. κἀκείνῳ μέν, ὅτι χώραν διένειμε τοῖς πένησι προστάξας ἑκάστῳ τελεῖν ἀποφορὰν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, ὡς κολακεύοντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπηχθάνοντο, Λίβιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποφορὰν ταύτην
3 τῶν νειμαμένων ἀφαιρῶν ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν τοῖς Λατίνοις ἰσοψηφίαν διδοὺς ἐλύπει, τοῦ δέ, ὅπως μηδὲ ἐπὶ στρατείας ἐξῇ τινα Λατίνων ῥάβδοις αἰκίσασθαι γράψαντος ἐβοήθουν τῷ νόμῳ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Λίβιος ἀεὶ δημηγορῶν ἔλεγεν ὡς γράφοι ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ δοκοῦντα κηδο-
4 μένῃ τῶν πολλῶν· ὃ δὴ καὶ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον ὑπῆρχεν. ἡμερώτερον γὰρ ἔσχε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δῆμος· καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ὑφορωμένου καὶ

nor advantageous; nay, he had the emulous eagerness of the rival demagogues of comedy to achieve one thing, namely, to surpass Caius in pleasing and gratifying the people.[1] In this way the senate showed most plainly that it was not displeased with the public measures of Caius, but rather was desirous by all means to humble or destroy the man himself. For when Caius proposed to found two colonies, and these composed of the most respectable citizens, they accused him of truckling to the people; but when Livius proposed to found twelve, and to send out to each of them three thousand of the needy citizens, they supported him. With Caius, because he distributed public land among the poor for which every man of them was required to pay a rental into the public treasury, they were angry, alleging that he was seeking thereby to win favour with the multitude; but Livius met with their approval when he proposed to relieve the tenants even from this rental. And further, when Caius proposed to bestow upon the Latins equal rights of suffrage, he gave offence; but when Livius brought in a bill forbidding that any Latin should be chastised with rods even during military service, he had the senate's support. And indeed Livius himself, in his public harangues, always said that he introduced these measures on the authority of the senate, which desired to help the common people; and this in fact was the only advantage which resulted from his political measures. For the people became more amicably disposed towards the senate; and whereas before this they had suspected and hated the nobles, Livius softened and

[1] An allusion to the rival demagogues in the *Knights* of Aristophanes.

μισοῦντος ἐξέλυσε καὶ κατεπράϋνε τὴν μνησικακίαν καὶ χαλεπότητα ταύτην ὁ Λίβιος, ὡς ἐκ 839
τῆς ἐκείνων ὁρμώμενος γνώμης ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

X. Μεγίστη δὲ τῷ Δρούσῳ πίστις εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐγίνετο καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ μηδὲν αὑτῷ μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι γράφοντα. καὶ γὰρ οἰκιστὰς ἑτέρους ἐξέπεμπε τῶν πόλεων καὶ διοικήσεσι χρημάτων οὐ προσῄει, τοῦ Γαΐου τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τοιούτων αὑτῷ
2 προστιθέντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥουβρίου τῶν συναρχόντων ἑνὸς οἰκίζεσθαι Καρχηδόνα γράψαντος ἀνῃρημένην ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος, κλήρῳ λαχὼν ὁ Γάϊος ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην ἐπὶ τὸν κατοικισμόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιβὰς ὁ Δροῦσος ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον ὑπελάμβανε καὶ προσήγετο, μάλιστα ταῖς
3 κατὰ τοῦ Φουλβίου διαβολαῖς. ὁ δὲ Φούλβιος οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Γαΐου φίλος, καὶ συνάρχων ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῆς χώρας ᾑρημένος· ἦν δὲ θορυβώδης, καὶ μισούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄντικρυς, ὕποπτος δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς τὰ συμμαχικὰ διακινῶν καὶ παροξύνων κρύφα τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. οἷς ἀναποδείκτως καὶ ἀνελέγκτως λεγομένοις αὐτὸς προσετίθει πίστιν ὁ Φούλβιος οὐχ ὑγιαινούσης οὐδὲ εἰρηνικῆς ὢν προ-
4 αιρέσεως. τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέλυε τὸν Γάϊον ἀπολαύοντα τοῦ μίσους. καὶ ὅτε Σκηπίων ὁ

dissipated their remembrance of past grievances and their bitter feelings by alleging that it was the sanction of the nobles which had induced him to enter upon his course of conciliating the people and gratifying the wishes of the many.

X. But the strongest proof that Livius was well disposed towards the people and honest, lay in the fact that he never appeared to propose anything for himself or in his own interests. For he moved to send out other men as managers of his colonies, and would have no hand in the expenditure of moneys, whereas Caius had assigned to himself most of such functions and the most important of them. And now Rubrius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, brought in a bill for the founding of a colony on the site of Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, and Caius, upon whom the lot fell, sailed off to Africa as superintendent of the foundation. In his absence, therefore, Livius made all the more headway against him, stealing into the good graces of the people and attaching them to himself, particularly by his calumniations of Fulvius. This Fulvius was a friend of Caius, and had been chosen a commissioner with him for the distribution of the public land; but he was a turbulent fellow, and was hated outright by the senators. Other men also suspected him of stirring up trouble with the allies and of secretly inciting the Italians to revolt. These things were said against him without proof or investigation, but Fulvius himself brought them into greater credence by a policy which was unsound and revolutionary. This more than anything else was the undoing of Caius, who came in for a share of the hatred against Fulvius. And when Scipio Africanus

Ἀφρικανὸς ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προφανοῦς ἐτελεύτησε καὶ σημεῖά τινα τῷ νεκρῷ πληγῶν καὶ βίας ἐπιδραμεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τὸν Φούλβιον ἦλθε τῆς διαβολῆς, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῷ Σκηπίωνι λελοιδορημένον,
5 ἥψατο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Γαΐου ὑπόνοια. καὶ δεινὸν οὕτως ἔργον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ Ῥωμαίων τολμηθὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε δίκης οὐδὲ εἰς ἔλεγχον προῆλθεν· ἐνέστησαν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ κατέλυσαν τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαΐου φοβηθέντες, μὴ περιπετὴς τῇ αἰτίᾳ τοῦ φόνου ζητουμένου γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγεγόνει πρότερον.

XI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ περὶ τὸν τῆς Καρχηδόνος κατοικισμόν, ἣν ὁ Γάϊος Ἰουνωνίαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἡραίαν, ὠνόμασε, πολλὰ κωλύματα γενέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λέγουσιν. ἥ τε γὰρ πρώτη σημαία, πνεύματος ἀφαρπάζοντος αὐτήν, τοῦ δὲ φέροντος ἐγκρατῶς ἀντεχομένου, συνετρίβη, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπικείμενα διεσκέδασεν ἀνέμου θύελλα καὶ διέρριψεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς γεγενημένης ὑπογραφῆς, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὅρους ἀνέσπασαν ἐπελθόντες λύκοι καὶ μακρὰν ᾤχοντο
2 φέροντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντα συντάξας καὶ διακοσμήσας ὁ Γάϊος ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα ταῖς πάσαις ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην, πιέζεσθαι τὸν Φούλβιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δρούσου πυνθανόμενος, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας δεομένων.

died without any apparent cause, and certain marks of violence and blows were thought to be in evidence all over his dead body, as I have written in his Life,[1] most of the consequent calumny fell upon Fulvius, who was Scipio's enemy, and had abused him that day from the rostra, but suspicion attached itself also to Caius. And a deed so monstrous, and perpetrated upon a man who was the foremost and greatest Roman, went unpunished, nay, was not even so much as probed; for the multitude were opposed to any judicial enquiry and thwarted it, because they feared that Caius might be implicated in the charge if the murder were investigated. However, this had happened at an earlier time.[2]

XI. In Africa, moreover, in connection with the planting of a colony on the site of Carthage, to which colony Caius gave the name Junonia (that is to say, in Greek, Heraea), there are said to have been many prohibitory signs from the gods. For the leading standard was caught by a gust of wind, and though the bearer clung to it with all his might, it was broken into pieces; the sacrificial victims lying on the altars were scattered by a hurricane and dispersed beyond the boundary-marks in the plan of the city, and the boundary-marks themselves were set upon by wolves, who tore them up and carried them a long way off. Notwithstanding this, Caius settled and arranged everything in seventy days all told, and then returned to Rome, because he learned that Fulvius was being hard pressed by Drusus, and because matters there required his presence. For

[1] See the *Tiberius Gracchus*, *ad fin.*, and cf. the *Romulus*, xxvii. 4 f.

[2] In 129 B.C., six years before Caius became tribune.

Λεύκιος γὰρ Ὀπίμιος, ἀνὴρ ὀλιγαρχικὸς καὶ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, πρότερον μὲν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων, τοῦ Γαΐου τὸν Φάννιον προαγαγόντος, ἐκεῖνον δὲ καταρχαιρεσιάσαντος·
3 τότε δὲ πολλῶν βοηθούντων ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὑπατεύσειν, ὑπατεύων δὲ καταλύσειν τὸν Γάϊον, ἤδη τρόπον τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ μαραινομένης καὶ τοῦ δήμου μεστοῦ γεγονότος τῶν τοιούτων πολιτευμάτων διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς πρὸς χάριν δημαγωγοῦντας εἶναι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ὑπείκειν ἑκοῦσαν.

XII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Παλατίου μετῴκησεν εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγορὰν τόπον ὡς δημοτικώτερον, ὅπου πλείστους τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ πενήτων συνέβαινεν οἰκεῖν· ἔπειτα τῶν νόμων ἐξέθηκε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὡς ἐπάξων τὴν ψῆφον αὐτοῖς. ὄχλου δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ συνιόντος ἔπεισεν ἡ βουλὴ τὸν ὕπατον Φάννιον ἐκβαλεῖν
2 τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντας. γενομένου 840
δὲ κηρύγματος ἀήθους καὶ ἀλλοκότου, μηδένα τῶν συμμάχων μηδὲ τῶν φίλων ἐν Ῥώμῃ φανῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, ἀντεξέθηκεν ὁ Γάϊος διάγραμμα κατηγορῶν τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἂν μένωσι, βοηθήσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν ἕνα τῶν ξένων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων ἑλκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Φαννίου, παρῆλθε καὶ οὐ προσήμυνεν, εἴτε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἤδη δεδιὼς ἐλέγχειν,

Lucius Opimius, a man of oligarchical principles and influential in the senate, who had previously failed in a candidacy for the consulship (when Caius had brought forward Fannius and supported his canvas for the office),[1] now had the aid and assistance of many, and it was expected that he would be consul, and that as consul he would try to put down Caius, whose influence was already somewhat on the wane, and with whose peculiar measures the people had become sated, because the leaders who courted their favour were many and the senate readily yielded to them.

XII. On returning to Rome, in the first place Caius changed his residence from the Palatine hill to the region adjoining the forum, which he thought more democratic, since most of the poor and lowly had come to live there; in the next place, he promulgated the rest of his laws, intending to get the people's vote upon them. But when a throng came together from all parts of Italy for his support, the senate prevailed upon the consul Fannius to drive out of the city all who were not Romans. Accordingly, a strange and unusual proclamation was made, to the effect that none of the allies and friends of Rome should appear in the city during those days; whereupon Caius published a counter edict in which he denounced the consul, and promised the allies his support, in case they should remain there. He did not, however, give them his support, but when he saw one of his comrades and guest-friends dragged off by the lictors of Fannius, he passed by without giving him any help, either because he feared to give a proof that his power was already on the decline, or because

[1] See chapter viii. 2.

εἴτε μὴ βουλόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀψιμαχίας αὐτὸς καὶ συμπλοκῆς ἀρχὰς ζητοῦσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρασχεῖν.

3 Συνέτυχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνάρχοντας ἐν ὀργῇ γενέσθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἔμελλεν ὁ δῆμος θεᾶσθαι μονομάχους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ πλεῖστοι θεωρητήρια κύκλῳ κατασκευάσαντες ἐξεμίσθουν. ταῦτα ὁ Γάϊος ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς καθαιρεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ἐκ τῶν τόπων
4 ἐκείνων ἀμισθὶ θεάσασθαι δύνωνται. μηδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος ἀναμείνας τὴν πρὸ τῆς θέας νύκτα, καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ὅσους εἶχεν ἐργολάβους ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ παραλαβών, τὰ θεωρητήρια καθεῖλε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ σχολάζοντα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τόπον· ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ συνάρχοντας ὡς ἰταμὸς καὶ βίαιος ἐλύπησεν. ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἔδοξε δημαρχίαν ἀφῃρῆσθαι, ψήφων μὲν αὐτῷ πλείστων γενομένων, ἀδίκως δὲ καὶ κακούργως τῶν συναρχόντων ποιησαμένων τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν καὶ ἀνάδειξιν.
5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφισβήτησιν εἶχεν. ἤνεγκε δὲ οὐ μετρίως ἀποτυχών, καὶ πρός γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπεγγελῶντας αὐτῷ λέγεται θρασύτερον τοῦ δέοντος εἰπεῖν ὡς Σαρδόνιον γέλωτα γελῶσιν, οὐ γιγνώσκοντες ὅσον αὐτοῖς σκότος ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ περικέχυται πολιτευμάτων.

he was unwilling, as he said, by his own acts to afford his enemies the occasions which they sought for a conflict at close quarters.

Moreover, it chanced that he had incurred the anger of his colleagues in office, and for the following reason. The people were going to enjoy an exhibition of gladiators in the forum, and most of the magistrates had constructed seats for the show round about, and were offering them for hire. Caius ordered them to take down these seats, in order that the poor might be able to enjoy the spectacle from those places without paying hire. But since no one paid any attention to his command, he waited till the night before the spectacle, and then, taking all the workmen whom he had under his orders in public contracts, he pulled down the seats, and when day came he had the place all clear for the people. For this proceeding the populace thought him a man, but his colleagues were annoyed and thought him reckless and violent. It was believed also that this conduct cost him his election to the tribunate for the third time, since, although he got a majority of the votes, his colleagues were unjust and fraudulent in their proclamation and returns. This, however, was disputed. But he took his failure overmuch to heart, and what is more, when his enemies were exulting over him, he told them, it is said, with more boldness than was fitting, that they were laughing with sardonic laughter, and were not aware of the great darkness that enveloped them in consequence of his public measures.[1]

[1] Blass compares the laughter of the doomed suitors in *Odyssey*, xx. 346 ff.—the fatuous smile of men whose fate is sealed, though they are unaware of it.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀπίμιον καταστήσαντες ὕπατον τῶν νόμων πολλοὺς διέγραφον καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνος ἐκίνουν διάταξιν, ἐρεθίζοντες τὸν Γάϊον, ὡς ἂν αἰτίαν ὀργῆς παρασχὼν ἀναιρεθείη, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐκαρτέρει, τῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Φουλβίου παροξύνοντος ὥρμησε πάλιν συνάγειν τοὺς ἀντιταξομένους πρὸς τὸν
2 ὕπατον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν μητέρα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ συστασιάσαι, μισθουμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄνδρας, ὡς δὴ θεριστάς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολίοις αὐτῆς ᾐνιγμένα γεγράφθαι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ πάνυ τῆς Κορνηλίας δυσχεραινούσης ταῦτα πράττεσθαι λέγουσιν.

3 Ἧι δ' οὖν ἔμελλον ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς νόμους λύσειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀπίμιον, κατείληπτο μὲν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἕωθεν εὐθὺς τὸ Καπετώλιον, θύσαντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τις αὐτοῦ Κόϊντος Ἀντύλλιος διαφέρων ἑτέρωσε τὰ σπλάγχνα πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φούλβιον εἶπε· "Δότε τόπον ἀγαθοῖς, κακοὶ πολῖται." τινὲς δέ φασιν ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν βραχίονα γυμνὸν οἷον ἐφ' ὕβρει
4 σχηματίζοντα παρενεγκεῖν. ἀποθνήσκει γοῦν εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀντύλλιος ἐκεῖ μεγάλοις γραφείοις κεντούμενος, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ πεποιῆσθαι λεγομένοις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος διεταράχθη πρὸς τὸν φόνον, ἐναντία δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔσχε διάθεσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γάϊος ἤχθετο καὶ κακῶς ἔλεγε τοὺς

XIII. The enemies of Caius also effected the election of Opimius as consul, and then proceeded to revoke many of the laws which Caius had secured and to meddle with the organization of the colony at Carthage. This was by way of irritating Caius, that he might furnish ground for resentment, and so be got rid of. At first he endured all this patiently, but at last, under the instigations of his friends, and especially of Fulvius, he set out to gather a fresh body of partisans for opposition to the consul. Here, we are told, his mother also took active part in his seditious measures, by secretly hiring from foreign parts and sending to Rome men who were ostensibly reapers; for to this matter there are said to have been obscure allusions in her letters[1] to her son. Others, however, say that Cornelia was very much displeased with these activities of her son.

Be that as it may, on the day when Opimius and his supporters were going to annul the laws, the Capitol had been occupied by both factions since earliest morning, and after the consul had offered sacrifice, one of his servants, Quintus Antyllius, as he was carrying from one place to another the entrails of the victims, said to the partisans of Fulvius: "Make way for honest citizens, ye rascals!" Some say, too, that along with this speech Antyllius bared his arm and waved it with an insulting gesture. At any rate he was killed at once and on the spot, stabbed with large writing styles said to have been made for just such a purpose. The multitude were completely confused by the murder, but it produced an opposite state of mind in the leaders of the two factions. Caius was distressed, and upbraided his followers for

[1] Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 58, 211.

*περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς αἰτίαν δεομένοις πάλαι καθ' ἑαυτῶν
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δεδωκότας, ὁ δὲ Ὀπίμιος ὥσπερ
ἐνδόσιμον λαβὼν ἐπῆρτο καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον
ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν.*

XIV. Καὶ *τότε μὲν ὄμβρου γενομένου διελύ-
θησαν· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ὁ ὕπατος
συναγαγὼν ἔνδον ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἕτεροι δὲ τὸ τοῦ*
Ἀντυλλίου *σῶμα γυμνὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης προθέμενοι
δι' ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπίτηδες παρε-
κόμιζον, οἰμωγῇ χρώμενοι καὶ θρήνῳ, γιγνώσκον-
τος μὲν τοῦ* Ὀπιμίου *τὰ πραττόμενα, προσποιου-* 841
μένου δὲ θαυμάζειν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς
2 *προελθεῖν. κατατεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης εἰς μέσον
οἱ μὲν ἐσχετλίαζον ὡς ἐπὶ δεινῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ
πάθει, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἐπῄει μισεῖν καὶ προβάλ-
λεσθαι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς, ὡς* Τιβέριον *μὲν*
Γράγχον *ἐν* Καπετωλίῳ *φονεύσαντες αὐτοὶ δή-
μαρχον ὄντα καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν προσεξέβαλον, ὁ δ'*
3 *ὑπηρέτης* Ἀντύλλιος, *οὐ δίκαια μὲν ἴσως πεπον-
θώς, τὴν δὲ πλείστην αἰτίαν εἰς τὸ παθεῖν αὐτῷ
παρασχών, ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρόκειται, καὶ περιέστηκεν
ἡ* Ῥωμαίων *βουλὴ θρηνοῦσα καὶ συνεκκομίζουσα
μισθωτὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἔτι λειπόμενον
ἀνελεῖν τῶν τοῦ δήμου κηδομένων. ἐκ τούτου
πάλιν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀπελθόντες ἐψηφί-
σαντο καὶ προσέταξαν* Ὀπιμίῳ *τῷ ὑπάτῳ σώζειν
τὴν πόλιν ὅπως δύναιτο, καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς
τυράννους.*

4 Ἐκείνου *δὲ προειπόντος ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν*

having given their enemies ground for accusing them which had long been desired; but Opimius, as though he had got something for which he was waiting, was elated, and urged the people on to vengeance.

XIV. A shower of rain fell just then, and the assembly was dissolved; but early next morning the consul called the senate together indoors and proceeded to transact business, while others placed the body of Antyllius without covering upon a bier, and carried it, as they had agreed to do, through the forum and past the senate-house, with wailings and lamentations. Opimius knew what was going on, but pretended to be surprised, so that even the senators went out into the forum. After the bier had been set down in the midst of the throng, the senators began to inveigh against what they called a heinous and monstrous crime, but the people were moved to hatred and abuse of the oligarchs, who, they said, after murdering Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol with their own hands, tribune that he was, had actually flung away his dead body besides; whereas Antyllius, a mere servant, who perhaps had suffered more than he deserved, but was himself chiefly to blame for it, had been laid out in the forum, and was surrounded by the Roman senate, which shed tears and shared in the obsequies of a hireling fellow, to the end that the sole remaining champion of the people might be done away with. Then the senators went back into the senate-house, where they formally enjoined upon the consul Opimius to save the city as best he could,[1] and to put down the tyrants.

The consul therefore ordered the senators to take

[1] The formal decree of martial law: consul videret ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, *In Cat.* i. 2, 4).

τοὺς συγκλητικούς, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἑκάστῳ
παράγγελμα δόντος ἄγειν ἕωθεν οἰκέτας δύο
καθωπλισμένους, ὁ μὲν Φούλβιος ἀντιπαρεσκευά-
ζετο καὶ συνῆγεν ὄχλον, ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
ἀπερχόμενος ἔστη κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδριάντα,
καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐμβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐφ-
5 θέγξατο, δακρύσας δὲ καὶ στενάξας ἀπῄει. τοῦτο
πολλοῖς τῶν ἰδόντων οἰκτεῖραι τὸν Γάϊον ἐπῆλθε·
καὶ κακίσαντες αὑτοὺς ὡς ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ προδιδόντες ἧκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ
παρενυκτέρευον ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς
τὸν Φούλβιον φυλάττουσιν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐν
κρότοις καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῖς πίνοντες καὶ θρασυνό-
μενοι διετέλεσαν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φουλβίου πρώτου
μεθυσκομένου καὶ πολλὰ φορτικῶς παρ' ἡλικίαν
6 φθεγγομένου καὶ πράττοντος· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
Γάϊον, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος ἡσυ-
χίαν ἄγοντες καὶ περισκοπούμενοι τὸ μέλλον, ἐν
μέρει φυλάττοντες καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι διῆγον.

XV. Ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν Φούλβιον ἐκ τοῦ
πότου καθεύδοντα μόλις ἐπεγείραντες ὡπλίζοντο
τοῖς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ λαφύροις, ἃ Γαλάτας
νενικηκὼς ὅτε ὑπάτευεν εἰλήφει, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς
ἀπειλῆς καὶ κραυγῆς ἐχώρουν καταληψόμενοι τὸν
Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον. ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ὁπλίσασθαι μὲν
οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐν τηβέννῳ
2 προῄει, μικρὸν ὑπεζωσμένος ἐγχειρίδιον, ἐξιόντι
δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς θύρας ἡ γυνὴ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ
περιπτύξασα τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, τῇ
δὲ τὸ παιδίον, "Οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμά σε," εἶπεν, "ὦ
Γάϊε, προπέμπω δήμαρχον, ὡς πρότερον, καὶ νομο-

up arms, and every member of the equestrian order was notified to bring next morning two servants fully armed; Fulvius, on the other hand, made counter preparations and got together a rabble, but Caius, as he left the forum, stopped in front of his father's statue, gazed at it for a long time without uttering a word, then burst into tears, and with a groan departed. Many of those who saw this were moved to pity Caius; they reproached themselves for abandoning and betraying him, and went to his house, and spent the night at his door, though not in the same manner as those who were guarding Fulvius. For these passed the whole time in noise and shouting, drinking, and boasting of what they would do, Fulvius himself being the first to get drunk, and saying and doing much that was unseemly for a man of his years; but the followers of Caius, feeling that they faced a public calamity, kept quiet and were full of concern for the future, and passed the night sleeping and keeping watch by turns.

XV. When day came, Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep by his partisans, who armed themselves with the spoils of war about his house, which he had taken after a victory over the Gauls during his consulship, and with much threatening and shouting went to seize the Aventine hill. Caius, on the other hand, was unwilling to arm himself, but went forth in his toga, as though on his way to the forum, with only a short dagger on his person. As he was going out at the door, his wife threw herself in his way, and with one arm round her husband and the other round their little son, said: "Not to the rostra, O Caius, do I now send thee forth, as formerly, to serve as tribune and law-giver, nor yet to

θέτην, οὐδ' ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔνδοξον, ἵνα μοι καὶ παθών τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολίπῃς τιμώμενον γοῦν πένθος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Τιβερίου *φονεῦσιν ὑποβάλλεις ἑαυτόν, ἄνοπλον μὲν καλῶς, ἵνα πάθῃς τι μᾶλλον ἢ δράσῃς, πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄφελος ἀπολεῖ.*
3 *κεκράτηκεν ἤδη τὰ χείρω· βίᾳ καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς δίκας πράττουσιν. εἰ περὶ* Νομαντίαν *ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς ἔπεσεν, ὑπόσπονδος ἂν ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη νεκρός· νῦν δὲ ἴσως κἀγὼ ποταμοῦ τινος ἢ θαλάττης ἱκέτις ἔσομαι φῆναί ποτε τὸ σὸν σῶμα φρουρούμενον. τί γὰρ ἢ νόμοις ἔτι πιστὸν ἢ*
4 *θεοῖς μετὰ τὸν* Τιβερίου *φόνον;" τοιαῦτα τῆς* Λικιννίας *ὀδυρομένης, ἀτρέμα τὰς περιβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος αὐτῆς ὁ* Γάϊος *ἐχώρει σιωπῇ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἱματίου λαβέσθαι γλιχομένη καταρρυεῖσα πρὸς τοὔδαφος ἔκειτο πολὺν χρόνον ἄναυδος, μέχρι οὗ λιποθυμήσασαν αὐτὴν οἱ θεράποντες ἀράμενοι πρὸς* Κράσσον *ᾤχοντο τὸν ἀδελφὸν κομίζοντες.*

XVI. Ὁ *δὲ* Φούλβιος, *ὡς ἐγένοντο πάντες ἀθρόοι, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ* Γαΐου *πέμπει τῶν υἱῶν τὸν νεώτερον ἔχοντα κηρύκειον εἰς ἀγοράν. ἦν δὲ* 842
κάλλιστος ὁ νεανίσκος ὀφθῆναι· καὶ τότε καταστὰς κοσμίως καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς δεδακρυμένος ἐποιήσατο συμβατικοὺς λόγους *πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον καὶ*
2 *τὴν σύγκλητον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐκ ἀηδῶς πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις εἶχον· ὁ δὲ* Ὀπίμιος *οὐ δι' ἀγγέλων ἔφη χρῆναι πείθειν τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ καταβάντας ὡς ὑπευθύνους πολίτας ἐπὶ κρίσιν καὶ παραδόντας αὐτοὺς οὕτως παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὀργήν· τῷ δὲ μειρακίῳ καὶ διηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ τούτοις κατιέναι πάλιν ἢ μὴ*

a glorious war, where, shouldst thou die (and all men must die), thou wouldst at all events leave me an honoured sorrow; but thou art exposing thyself to the murderers of Tiberius, and thou doest well to go unarmed, that thou mayest suffer rather than inflict wrong; but thy death will do the state no good. The worst has at last prevailed; by violence and the sword men's controversies are now decided. If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce; but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?" While Licinnia was thus lamenting, Caius gently freed himself from her embrace and went away without a word, accompanied by his friends. Licinnia eagerly sought to clutch his robe, but sank to the ground and lay there a long time speechless, until her servants lifted her up unconscious and carried her away to the house of her brother Crassus.

XVI. When all were assembled together, Fulvius, yielding to the advice of Caius, sent the younger of his sons with a herald's wand into the forum. The young man was very fair to look upon; and now, in a decorous attitude, modestly, and with tears in his eyes, he addressed conciliatory words to the consul and the senate. Most of his audience, then, were not disinclined to accept his terms of peace; but Opimius declared that the petitioners ought not to try to persuade the senate by word of messenger; they should rather come down and surrender themselves for trial, like citizens amenable to the laws, and then beg for mercy; he also told the young man plainly to come

3 κατιέναι. Γάϊος μὲν οὖν, ὥς φασιν, ἐβούλετο βαδίζειν καὶ πείθειν τὴν σύγκλητον· οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συγχωροῦντος, αὖθις ἔπεμψεν ὁ Φούλβιος τὸν παῖδα διαλεξόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὅμοια τοῖς προτέροις. ὁ δὲ Ὀπίμιος σπεύδων μάχην συνάψαι τὸ μὲν μειράκιον εὐθὺς συνέλαβε καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς φυλακήν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Φούλβιον ἐπῄει μετὰ πολλῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν Κρητῶν,
4 οἳ μάλιστα βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ κατατραυματίζοντες συνετάραξαν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ὁ μὲν Φούλβιος εἴς τι βαλανεῖον ἠμελημένον καταφυγὼν καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀνευρεθεὶς κατεσφάγη μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παιδός, ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ὤφθη μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς μαχόμενος, ἀλλὰ δυσανασχετῶν τοῖς γινομένοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν· ἐκεῖ δὲ βουλόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πιστοτάτων ἑταίρων ἐκωλύθη, Πομπωνίου καὶ Λικιννίου· παρόντες γὰρ οὗτοι τό τε ξίφος ἀφεί-
5 λοντο καὶ πάλιν φεύγειν ἐπῆραν αὐτόν. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται καθεσθεὶς εἰς γόνυ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὴν θεὸν ἐπεύξασθαι τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἐκείνης καὶ προδοσίας μηδέποτε παύσασθαι δουλεύοντα· φανερῶς γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι μετεβάλλοντο κηρύγματι δοθείσης ἀδείας.

XVII. Φεύγοντι δ' οὖν τῷ Γαΐῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφερομένων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων περὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν, οἱ μὲν δύο φίλοι προχωρεῖν ἐκεῖνον κελεύσαντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπέστησαν καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας οὐδένα
2 παρῆκαν ἕως ἀπέθανον. τῷ δὲ Γαΐῳ συνέφευγεν

back again on these terms or not come back at all. Caius, accordingly, as we are told, was willing to come and try to persuade the senate; but no one else agreed with him, and so Fulvius sent his son again to plead in their behalf as before. But Opimius, who was eager to join battle, at once seized the youth and put him under guard, and then advanced on the party of Fulvius with numerous men-at-arms and Cretan archers. And it was the archers who, by discharging their arrows and wounding their opponents, were most instrumental in throwing them into confusion. After the rout had taken place, Fulvius fled for refuge into an unused bath, where he was shortly discovered and slain, together with his elder son. Caius, however, was not seen to take any part in the battle, but in great displeasure at what was happening he withdrew into the temple of Diana. There he was minded to make away with himself, but was prevented by his most trusty companions, Pomponius and Licinius; for they were at hand, and took away his sword, and urged him to flight again. Then, indeed, as we are told, he sank upon his knees, and with hands outstretched towards the goddess prayed that the Roman people, in requital for their great ingratitude and treachery, might never cease to be in servitude; for most of them were manifestly changing sides, now that proclamation of immunity had been made.

XVII. So then, as Caius fled, his foes pressed hard upon him and were overtaking him at the wooden bridge over the Tiber, but his two friends bade him go on, while they themselves withstood his pursuers, and, fighting there at the head of the bridge, would suffer no man to pass, until they were killed. Caius had with him in his flight a single servant, by name

εἷς οἰκέτης ὄνομα Φιλοκράτης, πάντων μέν, ὥσπερ
ἐν ἁμίλλῃ, παρακελευομένων, οὐδενὸς δὲ βοη-
θοῦντος, οὐδὲ ἵππον αἰτουμένῳ παρασχεῖν ἐθελή-
σαντος· ἐπέκειντο γὰρ ἐγγὺς οἱ διώκοντες. ὁ δὲ
φθάνει μικρὸν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἐριννύων κατα-
φυγών, κἀκεῖ διαφθείρεται, τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ἀνε-
3 λόντος ἐκεῖνον, εἶτα ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξαντος. ὡς δὲ
ἔνιοί φασιν, ἀμφότεροι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
κατελήφθησαν ζῶντες, τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος τὸν
δεσπότην περιβαλόντος οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον ἠδυνήθη
πατάξαι πρότερον ἢ τοῦτον ὑπὸ πολλῶν παιό-
μενον ἀναιρεθῆναι. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Γαΐου
λέγουσιν ἄλλον μὲν ἀποκόψαι καὶ κομίζειν,
ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τούτου φίλον Ὀπιμίου τινά, Σεπ-
τουμουλήϊον· ἦν γὰρ προκεκηρυγμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ
τῆς μάχης ἰσοστάσιον χρυσίον τοῖς ἀνενεγκοῦσι
4 τὴν Γαΐου καὶ Φουλβίου κεφαλήν. ἀνηνέχθη δὲ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεπτουμουληΐου περιπεπαρμένη δόρατι
πρὸς τὸν Ὀπίμιον, καὶ ζυγοῦ κομισθέντος ἐντε-
θεῖσα λίτρας ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ δίμοιρον εἵλκυσε,
τοῦ Σεπτουμουληΐου καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μιαροῦ γενο-
μένου καὶ κακουργήσαντος· ἐξελὼν γὰρ τὸν ἐγκέ-
φαλον ἐνέτηξε μόλυβδον. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Φουλβίου
τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίσαντες (ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν ἀσημο-
5 τέρων) οὐδὲν ἔλαβον. τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τούτων
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφη, τρισ-
χιλίων ἀναιρεθέντων· καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν
ἀπέδοντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον. ἀπεῖπαν δὲ πενθεῖν
ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν δὲ Γαΐου Λικιννίαν καὶ τῆς
προικὸς ἀπεστέρησαν. ὠμότατον δὲ προσειργά- 843
σαντο τοῦ Φουλβίου τὸν νεώτερον υἱόν, οὔτε

Philocrates; and though all the spectators, as at a race, urged Caius on to greater speed, not a man came to his aid, or even consented to furnish him with a horse when he asked for one, for his pursuers were pressing close upon him. He barely succeeded in escaping into a sacred grove of the Furies, and there fell by the hand of Philocrates, who then slew himself upon his master. According to some writers, however, both were taken alive by the enemy, and because the servant had thrown his arms about his master, no one was able to strike the master until the slave had first been dispatched by the blows of many. Someone cut off the head of Caius, we are told, and was carrying it along, but was robbed of it by a certain friend of Opimius, Septimuleius; for proclamation had been made at the beginning of the battle that an equal weight of gold would be paid the men who brought the head of Caius or Fulvius. So Septimuleius stuck the head of Caius on a spear and brought it to Opimius, and when it was placed in a balance it weighed seventeen pounds and two thirds, since Septimuleius, besides showing himself to be a scoundrel, had also perpetrated a fraud; for he had taken out the brain and poured melted lead in its place. But those who brought the head of Fulvius were of the obscurer sort, and therefore got nothing. The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and of the other slain were thrown into the Tiber, and they numbered three thousand; their property was sold and the proceeds paid into the public treasury. Moreover, their wives were forbidden to go into mourning, and Licinnia, the wife of Caius, was also deprived of her marriage portion. Most cruel of all, however, was the treatment of the younger son of Fulvius, who had neither lifted a hand

χεῖρας ἀνταράμενον οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ σπονδὰς ἐλθόντα πρὸ τῆς μάχης
6 συλλαβόντες καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνελόντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων μᾶλλον ἠνίασε τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ κατασκευασθὲν Ὁμονοίας ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀπιμίου· σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θριαμβεύειν ἐπὶ φόνοις τοσούτοις πολιτῶν. διὸ καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ νεὼ παρενέγραψάν τινες τὸν στίχον τοῦτον· "Ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ."

XVIII. Οὗτος μέντοι πρῶτος ἐξουσίᾳ δικτάτορος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ κατακτείνας ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ τρισχιλίοις πολίταις Γάϊον Γράγχον καὶ Φούλβιον Φλάκκον, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἦν ὑπατικὸς καὶ θριαμβικός, ὁ δὲ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν ἡλικίας ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ πεπρωτευκώς, οὐκ ἀπέσχετο κλοπῆς, ἀλλὰ πεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἰουγούρθαν τὸν Νομάδα πρεσβευτὴς διεφθάρη χρήμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ὀφλὼν αἰσχίστην δωροδοκίας ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ κατεγήρασε μισούμενος καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
2 δήμου, παρ' αὐτὰ μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα ταπεινοῦ γενομένου καὶ συσταλέντος, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκφήναντος ὅσον εἶχεν ἱμέρου καὶ πόθου τῶν Γράγχων. εἰκόνας τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναδείξαντες ἐν φανερῷ προὐτίθεντο, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἐφονεύθησαν ἀφιερώσαντες ἀπήρχοντο μὲν ὧν ὧραι φέρουσι πάντων, ἔθυον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ προσέπιπτον, ὥσπερ θεῶν ἱεροῖς ἐπιφοιτῶντες.

XIX. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἡ Κορνηλία λέγεται τά

against the nobles nor been present at the fighting, but had come to effect a truce before the battle and had been arrested; after the battle he was slain. However, what vexed the people more than this or anything else was the erection of a temple of Concord by Opimius[1]; for it was felt that he was priding himself and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens. Therefore at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse :—" A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord."

XVIII. And yet this Opimius, who was the first consul to exercise the power of a dictator, and put to death without trial, besides three thousand other citizens, Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, of whom one had been consul and had celebrated a triumph, while the other was the foremost man of his generation in virtue and reputation—this Opimius could not keep his hands from fraud, but when he was sent as ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian was bribed by him, and after being convicted most shamefully of corruption, he spent his old age in infamy, hated and abused by the people, a people which was humble and cowed at the time when the Gracchi fell, but soon afterwards showed how much it missed them and longed for them. For it had statues of the brothers made and set up in a conspicuous place, consecrated the places where they were slain, and brought thither offerings of all the first-fruits of the seasons, nay, more, many sacrificed and fell down before their statues every day, as though they were visiting the shrines of gods.

XIX. And further, Cornelia is reported to have

[1] Opimius restored the temple of Concord which had been built by Camillus (see the *Camillus*, xlii. 4).

τε ἄλλα τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς ἀνῃρέθησαν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀξίους οἱ νεκροὶ τάφους ἔχουσιν. αὕτη δὲ περὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μισηνοὺς διέτριβεν,
2 οὐδὲν μεταλλάξασα τῆς συνήθους διαίτης. ἦν δὲ πολύφιλος καὶ διὰ φιλοξενίαν εὐτράπεζος, ἀεὶ μὲν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φιλολόγων περὶ αὐτὴν ὄντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεχομένων παρ' αὐτῆς δῶρα καὶ πεμπόντων. ἡδίστη μὲν οὖν ἦν αὕτη τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις καὶ συνοῦσι διηγουμένη τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ βίον καὶ δίαιταν, θαυμασιωτάτη δὲ τῶν παίδων ἀπενθὴς καὶ ἀδάκρυτος μνημονεύουσα, καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἀρχαίων τινῶν, ἐξηγουμένη τοῖς
3 πυνθανομένοις. ὅθεν ἔδοξεν ἐνίοις ἔκνους ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ μεγέθους κακῶν γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων ἀναίσθητος, αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναισθήτοις οὖσιν ὅσον ἐξ εὐφυΐας καὶ τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τετράφθαι καλῶς ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἀλυπίαν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ τύχη φυλαττομένης μὲν τὰ κακὰ πολλάκις περίεστιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πταῖσαι τὸ φέρειν εὐλογίστως οὐ παραιρεῖται.

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΓΧΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτης πέρας ἐχούσης τῆς διηγήσεως ὑπολείπεται λαβεῖν ἐκ παραλλήλου τῶν βίων τὴν ἀποθεώρησιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Γράγ-

borne all her misfortunes in a noble and magnanimous spirit, and to have said of the sacred places where her sons had been slain that they were tombs worthy of the dead which occupied them. She resided on the promontory called Misenum, and made no change in her customary way of living. She had many friends, and kept a good table that she might show hospitality, for she always had Greeks and other literary men about her, and all the reigning kings interchanged gifts with her. She was indeed very agreeable to her visitors and associates when she discoursed to them about the life and habits of her father Africanus, but most admirable when she spoke of her sons without grief or tears, and narrated their achievements and their fate to all enquirers as if she were speaking of men of the early days of Rome. Some were therefore led to think that old age or the greatness of her sorrows had impaired her mind and made her insensible to her misfortunes, whereas, really, such persons themselves were insensible how much help in the banishment of grief mankind derives from a noble nature and from honourable birth and rearing, as well as of the fact that while Fortune often prevails over virtue when it endeavours to ward off evils, she cannot rob virtue of the power to endure those evils with calm assurance.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI COMPARED

I. Now that I have brought this story of the Gracchi also to an end, it remains for me to take a survey of all four lives in parallel. As for the Gracchi,

τε ἄλλα τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως
ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς ἀνηρέθησαν
εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀξίους οἱ νεκροὶ τάφους ἔχουσιν. αὕτη
δὲ περὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μισηνοὺς διέτριβεν,
2 οὐδὲν μεταλλάξασα τῆς συνήθους διαίτης. ἦν
δὲ πολύφιλος καὶ διὰ φιλοξενίαν εὐτράπεζος, ἀεὶ
μὲν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φιλολόγων περὶ αὐτὴν ὄντων,
ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεχομένων παρ'
αὐτῆς δῶρα καὶ πεμπόντων. ἡδίστη μὲν οὖν ἦν
αὕτη τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις καὶ συνοῦσι διηγουμένη
τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ βίον καὶ δίαιταν,
θαυμασιωτάτη δὲ τῶν παίδων ἀπενθὴς καὶ ἀδά-
κρυτος μνημονεύουσα, καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις
αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἀρχαίων τινῶν, ἐξηγουμένη τοῖς
3 πυνθανομένοις. ὅθεν ἔδοξεν ἐνίοις ἔκνους ὑπὸ
γήρως ἢ μεγέθους κακῶν γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν
ἀτυχημάτων ἀναίσθητος, αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς
ἀναισθήτοις οὖσιν ὅσον ἐξ εὐφυΐας καὶ τοῦ γεγο-
νέναι καὶ τετράφθαι καλῶς ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς
ἀλυπίαν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ τύχη
φυλαττομένης μὲν τὰ κακὰ πολλάκις περίεστιν,
ἐν δὲ τῷ πταῖσαι τὸ φέρειν εὐλογίστως οὐ
παραιρεῖται.

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΓΧΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτης πέρας ἐχούσης τῆς διηγήσεως ὑπολείπεται λαβεῖν ἐκ παραλλήλου τῶν βίων τὴν ἀποθεώρησιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Γράγ-

borne all ...
it endeavours to ward ...
virtue of the power to endure ...
assurance.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES ... GRACCHI COMPAR...

I. Now that I have ... Gracchi also to an end ... survey of all four lives ...

...nd hate them
...ny that of all
...ature for the
... and training
...d Cleomenes
... natural gifts
...d not receive
...hose customs
...had long ago
...e themselves
... And further,
... her greatest
...ur for noble
... shame from
...nce of virtue
...d Cleomenes,
...ons of fathers
...o theirs, and
...ht and full of
... to blunt the
...Moreover, the
...alth and were
...at they kept
...s during their
...is would have
...ot taking any-
...ly gave to his
... amounted to
... alone, to say
...at a baseness,
... held to be by
...ession of more
...dness of their

χους οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ τἆλλα κακῶς λέγοντες καὶ μισοῦντες ἐτόλμησαν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυέστατοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίων ἁπάντων, καὶ
2 τροφῆς τε καὶ παιδεύσεως ἐκπρεποῦς ἔτυχον· ἡ δὲ Ἄγιδος καὶ Κλεομένους φύσις ἐρρωμενεστέρα φαίνεται τῆς ἐκείνων γενομένη, παρ' ὅσον οὔτε παιδείας μεταλαβόντες ὀρθῆς, ἔθεσί τε καὶ διαίταις ἐντραφέντες ὑφ' ὧν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι διεφθόρεισαν, αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐτελείας καὶ σωφρο- 844
3 σύνης παρέσχον. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μέν, ὅτε λαμπρότατον εἶχεν ἡ Ῥώμη καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ζῆλον, ὥσπερ διαδοχὴν ἀρετῆς πατρῴας καὶ προγονικῆς ᾐσχύνθησαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν· οἱ δὲ καὶ πατέρων τἀναντία προῃρημένων γεγονότες, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα μοχθηρὰ πράττουσαν καὶ νοσοῦσαν παραλαβόντες, οὐδέν τι διὰ ταῦτα τὴν πρὸς τὸ
4 καλὸν ἀπήμβλυναν ὁρμήν. καὶ μὴν τῆς γε Γράγχων ἀφιλοχρηματίας καὶ πρὸς ἀργύριον ἐγκρατείας μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὅτι λημμάτων ἀδίκων καθαροὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις διεφύλαξαν ἑαυτούς· Ἆγις δὲ κἂν διηγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀλλότριον λαβεῖν ἐπαινούμενος, ὃς τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἐπέδωκεν, ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσαν. πηλίκον οὖν ἐνόμιζε κακὸν εἶναι τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀδίκως ὁ καὶ δικαίως πλέον ἔχειν ἑτέρου πλεονεξίαν ἡγούμενος;

II. Ἥ γε μὴν ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ τόλμα τῶν καινο-

then, not even those who utterly revile and hate them on other grounds have ventured to deny that of all Romans they were best equipped by nature for the practice of virtue, and enjoyed a rearing and training which were preëminent; but Agis and Cleomenes would appear to have had even sturdier natural gifts than theirs, in so far as, though they did not receive a correct training, and were reared in those customs and ways of living by which their elders had long ago been corrupted, they nevertheless made themselves leaders in simplicity and self-restraint. And further, the Gracchi, at a time when Rome had her greatest and most splendid repute and an ardour for noble deeds, were prevented by a sense of shame from abandoning what was like an inheritance of virtue from ancestors near and remote; Agis and Cleomenes, on the other hand, though they were sons of fathers who had adopted opposite principles to theirs, and found their country in a wretched plight and full of distempers, did not suffer these things to blunt the edge of their zeal for what was noble. Moreover, the chief proof that the Gracchi scorned wealth and were superior to money lies in the fact that they kept themselves clear from unrighteous gains during their official and political life; whereas Agis would have been incensed to receive praise for not taking anything that was another's, since he freely gave to his fellow citizens his own property, which amounted to six hundred talents in ready money alone, to say nothing of other valuables. How great a baseness, then, would unlawful gain have been held to be by one in whose eyes even the lawful possession of more than another was rapacity?

II. Again, the enterprise and boldness of their

τομουμένων πολὺ τῷ μεγέθει παρήλλαττεν. ἐπολιτεύοντο γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὁδῶν κατασκευὰς καὶ πόλεων κτίσεις, καὶ τὸ πάντων νεανικώτατον ἦν Τιβερίῳ μὲν ἀνασῶσαι δημοσίους ἀγρούς, Γαΐῳ δὲ μῖξαι τὰ δικαστήρια προσεμβαλόντι τῶν ἱππικῶν τρια-
2 κοσίους· ὁ δὲ Ἄγιδος καὶ Κλεομένους νεωτερισμός, τὸ μικρὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἰᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποκόπτειν ὕδραν τινὰ τέμνοντος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, τὴν ἅμα πάντα ἀπαλλάξαι κακὰ καὶ μετασκευάσαι δυναμένην
3 μεταβολὴν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἀληθέστερον δ' ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἐστιν ὅτι τὴν πάντα ἀπεργασαμένην κακὰ μεταβολὴν ἐξήλαυνεν, ἀπάγων καὶ καθιστὰς εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον σχῆμα τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἄν τις εἴποι, τῇ μὲν Γράγχων πολιτείᾳ τοὺς μεγίστους ἐνίστασθαι Ῥωμαίων, οἷς δὲ Ἆγις ἐνεχείρησε, Κλεομένης δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέθηκε, τῶν παραδειγμάτων τὸ κάλλιστον ὑπέκειτο καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον, αἱ πάτριοι ῥῆτραι περὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἰσότητος, ὧν τούτοις μὲν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἐκείνῳ[1]
4 δὲ ὁ Πύθιος βεβαιωτής. ὃ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων πολιτεύμασιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἡ Ῥώμη μεῖζον ἐπέδωκε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ὁ Κλεομένης ἔπραξεν, ὀλίγου χρόνου τὴν Σπάρτην τῆς Πελοποννήσου κρατοῦσαν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπεῖδε καὶ τοῖς τοτε μέγιστον δυναμένοις διαγωνιζομένην ἀγῶνα

[1] ἐκείνῳ Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, after Madvig: ἐκείνοις.

attempted reforms were certainly very different in magnitude. For in their political activities Caius had in view the construction of roads and the founding of cities, and the boldest of all the projects of the Romans were, in the case of Tiberius the recovery of the public lands, and in that of Caius the reconstitution of the courts of justice by the addition of three hundred men from the equestrian order; whereas Agis and Cleomenes in their reforms, considering that the application of trifling and partial remedies and excisions to the disorders of the state was nothing more than cutting off a Hydra's heads (as Plato says [1]), tried to introduce into the constitution a change which was able to transform and get rid of all evils at once; though perhaps it is more in accordance with the truth to say that they banished the change which had wrought all sorts of evils, by bringing back the state to its proper form and establishing it therein. Besides, this also can be said, that the policies of the Gracchi were opposed by the greatest Romans, whereas those which Agis instituted and Cleomenes consummated were based upon the fairest and most imposing precedents, namely, the ancient rhetras or unwritten laws concerning simplicity of life and equality of property, for which Lycurgus was voucher to them, and the Pythian Apollo to Lycurgus.[2] But the most important consideration is that through the political activity of the Gracchi Rome made no advance in greatness, whereas, in consequence of the achievements of Cleomenes, within a short time Greece beheld Sparta mistress of the Peloponnesus and carrying on a struggle for the supremacy with those who then had the greatest power, the object of

[1] *Republic*, p. 426 e. [2] See the *Lycurgus*, xiii.

τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὗ τέλος ἦν ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν Ἰλλυρικῶν ὅπλων καὶ Γαλατικῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κοσμεῖσθαι πάλιν ὑφ' Ἡρακλείδαις.

III. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμφαίνειν τινὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς διαφοράν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, εἶτα φεύγοντες ἐτελεύτησαν· τούτων δὲ Ἆγις μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα κτεῖναι τῶν πολιτῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἑκὼν ἀπέθανε, Κλεομένης δὲ προπηλακισθεὶς καὶ ἀδικηθεὶς ὥρμησε μὲν ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ μὴ παρασχόντος
2 αὑτὸν εὐτόλμως ἀνεῖλε. πάλιν δὲ τἀναντία σκοποῦσιν Ἆγις μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξατο στρατηγίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ προανῃρέθη, ταῖς δὲ Κλεομένους νίκαις πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς γενομέναις παραβαλεῖν ἔστι Τιβερίου τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι τοῦ τείχους κατάληψιν, οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον, καὶ τὰς ἐν Νομαντίᾳ σπονδάς, αἷς δισμυρίους Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔχοντας ἄλλην ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας περιεποίησε· καὶ Γάϊος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν αὐτόθι, πολλὴν δὲ ἐν Σαρδόνι στρατευόμενος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔφηνεν, ὥστε τοῖς πρώτοις ἂν ἐναμίλλους Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι στρατηγοῖς, εἰ μὴ προανῃρέθησαν.

IV. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας ὁ μὲν Ἆγις ἔοικεν ἅψασθαι μαλακώτερον, ἐκκρουσθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ψευσάμενος τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ 845
ὅλως ἐλλιπὴς καὶ ἀτελὴς ὧν προείλετο καὶ κατήγγειλεν ὑπὸ ἀτολμίας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γενόμενος· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τοὐναντίον θρασύτερον καὶ βιαιό-

which struggle was to set Greece free from Illyrian and Gaulish troops and array her once more under descendants of Heracles.

III. I think, too, that the way in which the men died makes manifest a difference in their high excellence. For the Gracchi fought against their fellow citizens, and then died as they sought to make their escape; but in the case of the Greeks, Agis would not kill a single citizen, and therefore died what one might almost call a voluntary death, and Cleomenes, after setting out to avenge himself for insults and wrongs, found the occasion unfavourable and with a good courage slew himself. But again, when we take the opposite view of their relative merits, Agis displayed no deed worthy of a great commander, but was cut off untimely, and with the many honourable victories won by Cleomenes we can compare the capture of the wall at Carthage by Tiberius, which was no trifling deed, and his truce at Numantia, by which twenty thousand Roman soldiers who had no other hope of salvation were spared; and Caius, too, manifested great bravery in military service at home, and great bravery in Sardinia, so that the brothers might have vied successfully with the foremost Roman generals, had they not been cut off untimely.

IV. In their civic activities, however, Agis would seem to have taken hold of things with too little spirit; he was baffled by Agesilaüs, and broke his promise to the citizens about the re-distribution of lands, and in a word abandoned and left unfinished the designs which he had deliberately formed and announced, owing to a lack of courage due to his youth. Cleomenes, on the contrary, undertook his change of the constitution with too

τερον ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῆς πολιτείας, ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἐφόρους παρανόμως, οὓς καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατοῦντα καὶ μεταστῆσαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἄλλους
2 *μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἐπιφέρειν σίδηρον οὔτε ἰατρικὸν οὔτε πολιτικόν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνίας μὲν ἀμφότερα, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν μετ' ὠμότητος πρόσεστι. τῶν δὲ* Γράγχων *οὐδέτερος μὲν ἤρξατο σφαγῆς ἐμφυλίου,* Γάϊος *δὲ λέγεται μηδὲ βαλλόμενος ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἀλλὰ λαμπρότατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀργότατος ἐν τῇ στάσει γενέσθαι.*
3 *καὶ γὰρ προῆλθεν ἄοπλος καὶ μαχομένων ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὅλως πλείονα τοῦ μή τι δρᾶσαι πρόνοιαν ἢ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἔχων ἑωρᾶτο. διὸ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀτολμίας σημεῖον, ἀλλ' εὐλαβείας ποιητέον. ἔδει γὰρ ὑπεῖξαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις ἢ μένοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τῷ δρᾶν ἀμύνασθαι.*

V. Τῶν *τοίνυν ἐγκλημάτων τῶν κατὰ* Τιβερίου *μεγιστόν ἐστιν ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα τῆς δημαρχίας ἐξέβαλε καὶ δευτέραν αὐτὸς δημαρχίαν μετῄει·* Γαΐῳ *δὲ τὸν* Ἀντυλλίου *φόνον οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς προσετρίβοντο· διεφθάρη γὰρ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος.* Κλεομένης *δέ, ἵνα τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν ἐφόρων ἐάσωμεν, ἠλευθέρωσε μὲν*
2 *ἅπαντας τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ μόνος, τῷ δὲ ὀνόματι δεύτερος,* Εὐκλείδαν *τὸν*

much rashness and violence, killing the ephors in unlawful fashion, when it would have been easier to win them over to his views or remove them by superiority in arms, just as he removed many others from the city. For a resort to the knife, except under extremest necessity, is not the mark either of a good physician or statesman, but in both cases shows a lack of skill, and in the case of the statesman there is added both injustice and cruelty. Neither of the Gracchi, however, initiated civil slaughter, and Caius, we are told, would not resort to self-defence even when his life was threatened, but though he was a most brilliant soldier in the field, he showed himself most inactive in civil strife. For he went forth from his house unarmed and withdrew when the battle began, and in a word was seen to be more intent upon not doing any harm to others than upon not suffering harm himself. Therefore we must hold that the flight of the brothers was not a mark of cowardice, but of caution. For they were obliged either to yield to their assailants, or, in case they held their ground, to defend themselves actively against harm.

V. Again, the greatest of the accusations against Tiberius is that he deposed his colleague from the tribuneship and canvassed for a second tribuneship himself; and as for Caius, the murder of Antyllius was unjustly and falsely attributed to him, for it happened contrary to his wishes and much to his displeasure. But Cleomenes, not to mention again his slaughter of the ephors, set free all the slaves, and was king by himself in point of fact, though nominally with another, after he had chosen his brother Eucleidas, a man from the same house, as his col-

ἀδελφὸν ἐκ μιᾶς οἰκίας αὑτῷ προσελόμενος, Ἀρχίδαμον δέ, ᾧ προσῆκον ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ὄντι συμβασιλεύειν, ἔπεισε μὲν ἐκ Μεσσήνης κατελθεῖν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τὸν φόνον οὐκ ἐπεξελθὼν ἐβεβαίωσε τὴν αἰτίαν καθ' αὑτοῦ τῆς
3 ἀναιρέσεως. καίτοι Λυκοῦργος, ὃν προσεποιεῖτο μιμεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ἑκὼν ἀπέδωκε τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Χαρίλλῳ, φοβούμενος δὲ μή, κἂν ἄλλως ἀποθάνῃ τὸ μειράκιον, αἰτία τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ, πολὺν χρόνον ἔξω πλανηθεὶς οὐ πρότερον ἐπανῆλθεν ἢ παῖδα τῷ Χαρίλλῳ γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ Λυκούργῳ μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις Ἑλλήνων παραβλητὸς οὐδείς· ὅτι δὲ τοῖς Κλεομένους πολιτεύμασι καινοτομίαι καὶ
4 παρανομίαι μείζονες ἔνεισι, δεδήλωται. καὶ μὴν οἵ γε τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ψέγοντες τούτοις μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τυραννικὸν καὶ πολεμοποιὸν αἰτιῶνται γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἐκείνων φύσει φιλοτιμίας ἀμετρίαν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ φθονοῦντες ἐπικαλεῖν εἶχον· ἐκριπισθέντας δὲ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνισταμένους ἀγῶνι καὶ θυμῷ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ὥσπερ πνοαῖς, ἐφεῖναι περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τὴν πολιτείαν
5 ὡμολόγουν. ἐπεὶ τῆς γε πρώτης ὑποθέσεως τί κάλλιον ἢ δικαιότερον ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ βίαν καὶ δυναστείαν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐξῶσαι τὸν νόμον οἱ πλούσιοι περιέστησαν ἀμφοτέροις ἀγῶνας, τῷ μὲν φοβουμένῳ ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ, τῷ δὲ ἐκδικοῦντι τὸν

league; and he persuaded Archidamus, who belonged to the other house and should have been his colleague on the throne, to come back to Sparta from Messene, and upon his death, by not following up the murder, he fixed upon himself the blame for his taking off. And yet Lycurgus, whom he professed to imitate, voluntarily surrendered the royal power to Charillus his brother's son, and because he feared lest, if the young man should die by another's hand, some blame might attach to himself, he wandered a long time in foreign parts, and would not come back until a son had been born to Charillus who should succeed to his office.[1] However, with Lycurgus no other Greek is worthy to be compared; but that the political measures of Cleomenes were marked by greater innovations and illegalities than those of the Gracchi, is evident. And indeed those who are inclined to criticize their characters accuse the two Greeks of having been from the outset over fond of power and strife, and the two Romans of having been by nature immoderately ambitious, though their detractors could bring no other charge against them; nay, it was agreed that they were caught up by the fury of the contest with their opponents and by a passion contrary to their own natural bent, as by blasts of wind, and so let the state drive into extremest danger. For what could be more just and honourable than their original design? And they would have succeeded in it, had not the party of the rich, by their violent and partisan attempts to abrogate the agrarian law, involved both of them in fierce struggles, Tiberius through fear for his own life, and Caius in an effort to avenge his brother, who had been slain without justice or

[1] See the *Lycurgus*, iii. 5.

ἀδελφὸν ἄνευ δίκης καὶ δόγματος οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἄρχοντος ἀναιρεθέντα;

6 Συνορᾷς μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν διαφοράν· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀποφήνασθαι, Τιβέριον μὲν ἀρετῇ πεπρωτευκέναι τίθημι πάντων, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἡμαρτηκέναι τὸ μειράκιον Ἆγιν, πράξει δὲ καὶ τόλμῃ Γάϊον οὐκ ὀλίγῳ Κλεομένους ὕστερον γεγονέναι.

senatorial decree and without the concurrence even of a magistrate.

From what has been said, then, my reader will perceive for himself the difference between these men; but if I am to express my opinion of them individually, I should say that Tiberius led them all in exemplary virtues, that the youthful Agis committed the fewest errors, and that in achievement and courage Caius fell far short of Cleomenes.

PHILOPOEMEN

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΗΝ

I. Κλέανδρος ἦν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ γένους τε πρώτου 356 καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν, τύχῃ δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυγὼν ἧκεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν Φιλοποίμενος πατέρα Κραῦγιν, ἄνδρα πάντων ἕνεκα λαμπρόν,
2 ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἰκείως ἔχοντα. ζῶντος μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ πάντων ἐτύγχανε, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας ἀποδιδοὺς ἔθρεψεν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὀρφανὸν ὄντα, καθάπερ φησὶν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τραφῆναι, γενναίαν τινὰ καὶ βασιλικὴν τοῦ ἤθους εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλάσιν καὶ αὔξησιν λαμβάνοντος. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος ἀντίπαιδος ὄντος Ἔκδημος καὶ Μεγαλοφάνης οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται διεδέξαντο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, Ἀρκεσιλάῳ συνήθεις ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ γεγονότες καὶ φιλοσοφίαν μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πράξεις προαγαγόντες.
3 οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα τυραννίδος ἀπήλλαξαν, τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας Ἀριστόδημον κρύφα παρασκευάσαντες, καὶ Νικοκλέα τὸν Σικυωνίων τύραννον Ἀράτῳ συνεξέβαλον, καὶ Κυρηναίοις

PHILOPOEMEN

I. CLEANDER was a man of the highest lineage and greatest influence among the citizens of Mantineia, but he met with reverses and was exiled from his native city. He then betook himself to Megalopolis, chiefly because of Craugis, the father of Philopoemen, a man in every way illustrious, and attached to him by ties of personal friendship. As long as Craugis lived, Cleander's wants were all supplied, and when Craugis died, Cleander, wishing to requite him for his hospitality, undertook the rearing of his orphan son, just as Homer says that Achilles was reared by Phoenix,[1] so that the boy's character took on from the very outset a noble and kingly mould and growth. But as soon as Philopoemen had ceased to be a boy, Ecdemus and Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, were put in charge of him.[2] They had been comrades of Arcesilaüs at the Academy, and beyond all men of their day had brought philosophy to bear upon political action and affairs of state. They freed their own native city from tyranny, by secretly procuring men to kill Aristodemus; they joined with Aratus in expelling Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon;[3] and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose city was full

[1] Cf. *Iliad*, ix. 438 ff.

[2] A brief biography of Philopoemen may be found in Pausanias, viii. 49-51. It agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch. Philopoemen was born about 252 B.C.

[3] See the *Aratus*, ii.-x.

δεηθεῖσι, τεταραγμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ
νοσούντων, πλεύσαντες εὐνομίαν ἔθεντο καὶ διεκό-
4 σμησαν ἄριστα τὴν πόλιν. αὐτοί γε μὴν ἐν τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἔργοις καὶ τὴν Φιλοποίμενος ἐποιοῦντο
παίδευσιν, ὡς κοινὸν ὄφελος τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὸν ἄνδρα
τοῦτον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀπεργασόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ
ὥσπερ ὀψίγονον ἐν γήρᾳ ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν ἡγεμό-
νων ἐπιτεκοῦσα τοῦτον ἀρεταῖς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἠγάπησε
διαφερόντως καὶ συνηύξησε τῇ δόξῃ τὴν δύναμιν.
Ῥωμαίων δέ τις ἐπαινῶν ἔσχατον αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων
προσεῖπεν, ὡς οὐδένα μέγαν μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτι τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἄνδρα γειναμένης οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἄξιον.

II. Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος οὐκ αἰσχρός, ὡς ἔνιοι
νομίζουσιν· εἰκόνα γὰρ αὐτοῦ διαμένουσαν ἐν
Δελφοῖς ὁρῶμεν· τὴν δὲ τῆς ξένης τῆς Μεγαρικῆς
ἄγνοιαν συμβῆναι λέγουσι δι' εὐκολίαν τινὰ καὶ 357
ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ. πυνθανομένη γὰρ ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς
αὐτοὺς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐθορυβεῖτο
παρασκευάζουσα δεῖπνον, οὐ παρόντος κατὰ τύχην
2 τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος εἰσελ-
θόντος χλαμύδιον εὐτελὲς ἔχοντος, οἰομένη τινὰ
τῶν ὑπηρετῶν εἶναι καὶ πρόδρομον παρεκάλει τῆς
διακονίας συνεφάψασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπορ-
ρίψας τὴν χλαμύδα τῶν ξύλων ἔσχιζεν· ὁ δὲ
ξένος ἐπεισελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος, "Τί τοῦτο,"
ἔφη, "ὦ Φιλοποίμην;" "Τί γὰρ ἄλλο," ἔφη
δωρίζων ἐκεῖνος, "ἢ κακᾶς ὄψεως δίκας δίδωμι;"
3 τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου σώματος τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκώπτων ὁ

of confusion and political distemper, they sailed thither, introduced law and order, and arranged matters in the city most happily. They themselves, however, counted the education of Philopoemen also among their many achievements, believing that their philosophical teachings had made him a common benefit to Greece. For since he was the child, as it were, of her late old age and succeeded to the virtues of her ancient commanders, Greece loved him surpassingly, and as his reputation grew, increased his power. And a certain Roman, in praising him, called him the last of the Greeks,[1] implying that Greece produced no great man after him, nor one worthy of her.

II. In looks he was not, as some suppose, ill-favoured; for a statue of him is still to be seen at Delphi; and the mistake of his Megarian hostess was due, as we are told, to a certain indifference and simplicity on his part. This woman, learning that the general of the Achaeans was coming to her house, in great confusion set about preparing supper; besides, her husband chanced to be away from home. Just then Philopoemen came in, wearing a simple soldier's cloak, and the woman, thinking him to be one of his servants who had been sent on in advance, invited him to help her in her housework. So Philopoemen at once threw off his cloak and fell to splitting wood. Then his host came in, and seeing him thus employed, said: "What does this mean, Philopoemen?" "What else," said Philopoemen in broad Doric, "than that I am paying a penalty for my ill looks?" And once Titus Flamininus, making fun of certain parts of his

[1] See the *Aratus*, xxiv. 2.

Τίτος εἶπεν, "Ὦ Φιλοποίμην, ὡς καλὰς χεῖρας ἔχεις καὶ σκέλη· γαστέρα δ' οὐκ ἔχεις·" ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μέσων στενώτερος. τὸ μέντοι σκῶμμα πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐλέχθη. καὶ γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἔχων ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἱππεῖς χρημάτων πολλάκις οὐκ εὐπόρει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς περὶ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος λέγεται.

III. Τοῦ δ' ἤθους τὸ φιλότιμον οὐκ ἦν παντάπασι φιλονεικίας καθαρὸν οὐδ' ὀργῆς ἀπηλλαγμένον· ἀλλὰ καίπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδου βουλόμενος εἶναι μάλιστα ζηλωτής, τὸ δραστήριον καὶ συνετὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπαθὲς ἰσχυρῶς ἐμιμεῖτο, τῷ δὲ πράῳ καὶ βαθεῖ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς διαφορὰς ἐμμένειν οὐ δυνάμενος δι' ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἐδόκει στρατιω-
2 τικῆς ἢ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς οἰκεῖος εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς ἦν φιλοστρατιώτης, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο χρησίμοις μαθήμασιν ὑπήκουε προθύμως, ὁπλομαχεῖν καὶ ἱππεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παλαίειν εὐφυῶς ἐδόκει καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν ἔνιοι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, ἠρώτησεν αὐτοὺς μή τι πρὸς τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἄσκησιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως βλαβήσοιτο.
3 τῶν δὲ φαμένων, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀθλητικὸν στρατιωτικοῦ σῶμα καὶ βίον διαφέρειν τοῖς πᾶσι, μάλιστα δὲ δίαιταν ἑτέραν καὶ ἄσκησιν εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὕπνῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πλησμοναῖς ἐνδελεχέσι καὶ κινήσεσι τεταγμέναις καὶ ἡσυχίαις αὐξόντων τε καὶ διαφυλαττόντων τὴν ἕξιν ὑπὸ πάσης ῥοπῆς καὶ παρεκβάσεως τοῦ συνήθους ἀκροσφαλῆ πρὸς μεταβολὴν οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ πάσης μὲν πλάνης ἔμπειρα καὶ

figure, said: "Philopoemen, what fine arms and legs thou hast; but belly thou hast not"; for Philopoemen was quite slender at the waist. This piece of fun, however, was aimed the rather at his resources. For though he had excellent men-at-arms and horsemen, he was often at a loss for money. However, these stories are told of Philopoemen in the schools of philosophy.

III. But the love of distinction which marked his character was not altogether free from contentiousness nor devoid of anger; and although he desired to pattern himself most of all after Epaminondas, it was the energy, sagacity, and indifference to money in Epaminondas which he strenuously imitated, while his proneness to anger and contentiousness made him unable to maintain that great leader's mildness, gravity, and urbanity in political disputes, so that he was thought to be endowed with military rather than with civic virtues. For from his very boyhood he was fond of a soldier's life, and readily learned the lessons which were useful for this, such as those in heavy-armed fighting and horsemanship. He was also thought to be a good wrestler, but when some of his friends and directors urged him to take up athletics, he asked them if athletics would not be injurious to his military training. They told him (and it was the truth) that the habit of body and mode of life for athlete and soldier were totally different, and particularly that their diet and training were not the same, since the one required much sleep, continuous surfeit of food, and fixed periods of activity and repose, in order to preserve or improve their condition, which the slightest influence or the least departure from routine is apt to change for the worse; whereas the

πάσης ἀνωμαλίας προσῆκον εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ
4 φέρειν ῥᾳδίως μὲν ἔνδειαν εἰθισμένα, ῥᾳδίως δὲ ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀκούσας ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἔφυγε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ κατεγέλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν ὕστερον ἀτιμίαις καὶ προπηλακισμοῖς, ὅσον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, πᾶσαν ἄθλησιν ἐξέβαλεν ὡς τὰ χρησιμώτατα τῶν σωμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἀγῶνας ἄχρηστα ποιοῦσαν.

IV. Ἀπαλλαγεὶς δὲ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν ἐν μὲν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς στρατείαις, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κλωπείας ἕνεκα καὶ λεηλασίας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβάλλοντες, εἴθισεν αὑτὸν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκστρατευόντων, ὕστατον δὲ ἀπερχομένων βαδίζειν. σχολῆς δὲ οὔσης ἢ κυνηγῶν διεπόνει τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατεσκεύαζε κοῦφον ἅμα καὶ ῥωμα-
2 λέον, ἢ γεωργῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγρὸς αὐτῷ καλὸς ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι τῆς πόλεως. εἰς τοῦτον ἐβάδιζε καθ' ἡμέραν μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον ἢ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στιβαδίου τοῦ τυχόντος ὥσπερ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀνεπαύετο. πρωῒ δὲ ἀναστὰς καὶ συνεφαψάμενος ἔργου τοῖς ἀμπελουργοῦσιν ἢ βοηλατοῦσιν, αὖθις εἰς πόλιν ἀπῄει καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι συνησχολεῖτο.

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν στρατειῶν προσιόντα κατανάλισκεν εἰς ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων, τὸν δὲ οἶκον ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας αὔξειν ἐπειρᾶτο δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν χρηματισμῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο 358
ποιούμενος πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσήκειν

soldier ought to be conversant with all sorts of irregularity and all sorts of inequality, and above all should accustom himself to endure lack of food easily, and as easily lack of sleep. On hearing this, Philopoemen not only shunned athletics himself and derided them, but also in later times as a commander banished from the army all forms of them, with every possible mark of reproach and dishonour, on the ground that they rendered useless for the inevitable struggle of battle men who would otherwise be most serviceable.

IV. And when, set free from teachers and tutors, he took part in the incursions into Spartan territory which his fellow-citizens made for the sake of booty and plunder, he accustomed himself to march first as they went out, but last as they came back. And when he had leisure, he would give his body hard exercise in hunting, thus rendering it agile and at the same time sturdy, or in cultivating the soil. For he had a fine farm twenty furlongs from the city. To this he would go every day after dinner or after supper, and would throw himself down upon an ordinary pallet-bed, like anyone of his labourers, to sleep for the night. Then, early in the morning, he would rise and go to work along with his vine-dressers or his herdsmen, after which he would go back again to the city and busy himself about public matters with his friends or with the magistrates.

As for what he got from his campaigning, he used to spend it on horses, or armour, or the ransoming of captives; but his own property he sought to increase by agriculture, which is the justest way to make money. Nor did he practise agriculture merely as a side issue, but he held that the man who purposed to

οἰόμενος οἰκεῖα κεκτῆσθαι τὸν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφεξό-
μενον. ἠκροᾶτο δὲ λόγων καὶ συγγράμμασι φιλο-
σόφων ἐνετύγχανεν, οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἐδόκει
4 πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠφελεῖσθαι. καὶ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ὅσα
τὰς πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐγείρειν καὶ παροξύνειν ἐνόμιζε
φαντασίας, τούτοις προσεῖχε. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀνα-
γνωσμάτων μάλιστα τοῖς Εὐαγγέλου τακτικοῖς
ἐνεφύετο καὶ τὰς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίας
κατεῖχε, τοὺς λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα κατα-
στρέφειν οἰόμενος, εἰ μὴ σχολῆς ἕνεκα καὶ λαλιᾶς
5 ἀκάρπου περαίνοιντο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν τακτικῶν
θεωρημάτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πινακίοις διαγραφὰς
ἐῶν χαίρειν, ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν
ἔλεγχον καὶ μελέτην ἐποιεῖτο, χωρίων συγκλινίας
καὶ πεδίων ἀποκοπάς, καὶ ὅσα περὶ ῥείθροις ἢ
τάφροις ἢ στενωποῖς πάθη καὶ σχήματα διασπω-
μένης καὶ πάλιν συστελλομένης φάλαγγος. ἐπι-
σκοπῶν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὑτὸν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ
6 τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προβάλλων. ἔοικε γὰρ οὗτος
ὁ ἀνὴρ περαιτέρω τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐμφιλοκαλῆσαι
τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ποικιλω-
τάτην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσπάσασθαι, καὶ
ὅλως καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ὡς ἀπρά-
κτων.

V. Ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότος Κλεομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς βιασάμενος ἐντὸς παρῆλθε καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατέλαβεν. ἐκβοηθήσας δὲ Φιλοποίμην τοὺς

keep his hands from the property of others ought by all means to have property of his own. He also listened to the discourses and applied himself to the writings of philosophers—not all of them, but those whom he thought helpful to him in his progress towards virtue. And as for the poems of Homer, whatever in them was thought by him to rouse and stimulate the activities of the soul which made for valour, to this he would apply himself. Among other writings, however, he was most of all devoted to the "Tactics" of Evangelus, and was familiar with the histories of Alexander, thinking that literature was conducive to action, unless it were prosecuted merely to while away the time and afford themes for fruitless small talk. Indeed, he would ignore the charts and diagrams for the illustration of tactical principles, and get his proofs and make his studies on the ground itself. The ways in which places slope to meet one another, and level plains come to an abrupt end, and all the vicissitudes and shapes of a phalanx when it is elongated and contracted again in the vicinity of ravines or ditches or narrow defiles, these he would investigate by himself as he wandered about, and discuss them with his companions. For it would seem that he brought more zeal than was necessary to the study of military science, setting his affections on war as affording a most manifold basis for the practice of virtue, and despising as unsuccessful men those who left it to others.

V. He was now thirty years of age, when Cleomenes, King of the Lacedaemonians, suddenly attacked Megalopolis by night, forced the guard, made his way into the city, and occupied the market-place. Philopoemen came to the help of the citizens, but had not

μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατίσχυσεν ἐξελάσαι, καίπερ ἐρρωμένως καὶ παραβόλως διαγωνισάμενος, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέκλεψε, προσμαχόμενος τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσι καὶ τὸν Κλεομένην περισπῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ὡς χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ὕστατος ἀπελθεῖν, ἀποβαλὼν τὸν ἵππον καὶ
2 τραυματίας γενόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλεομένης εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀπελθοῦσι τήν τε πόλιν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποδιδοὺς καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὁρῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην τοὺς πολίτας ἀσμένως δεχομένους καὶ σπεύδοντας ἐπανελθεῖν ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσε τῷ λόγῳ, διδάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν πόλιν Κλεομένης, προσκτᾶται δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν βεβαιότερον· οὐ γὰρ ἕξειν αὐτὸν ὅπως οἰκίας καὶ τείχη κενὰ φυλάξει καθήμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων τοὺς μὲν πολίτας ἀπέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ Κλεομένει πρόφασιν παρέσχε λυμήνασθαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσαντι μεγάλων ἀπελθεῖν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς βοηθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλεομένην μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰς περὶ Σελλασίαν ἄκρας καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς κατέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρέταξε τὴν δύναμιν ἐγγὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι διανοούμενος, ἦν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν τεταγμένος ὁ Φιλοποίμην, καὶ παραστάτας εἶχεν Ἰλλυριούς, οἷς τὰ λήγοντα τῆς παρατάξεως συνεπέφρακτο

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[1] See the *Cleomenes*, xxiv.
[2] Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xxvii. and xxviii. The battle of Sellasia was fought in 221 B.C.

force enough to drive the enemy out, although he fought with vigour and daring. He did, however, steal the citizens out of the city, as it were, by attacking their pursuers and drawing Cleomenes against himself, so that with the greatest difficulty he got away last of all, after losing his horse and receiving a wound. Moreover, when Cleomenes sent to them at Messene, whither they had gone, and offered to give them back their city with its valuables and their territory, Philopoemen, seeing that the citizens would be glad to accept the offer and were eager to go back home, opposed and dissuaded them from it, showing them that Cleomenes was not so much offering to restore their city as he was trying to win over to himself its citizens, that so he might have the city also more securely in his possession; for he would not be able, Philopoemen said, to remain there and guard empty houses and walls, but the solitude would force him to abandon these also. By this speech Philopoemen diverted the citizens from their purpose, but furnished Cleomenes with an excuse for devastating and demolishing the greater part of the city and marching off loaded with booty.[1]

VI. Soon, however, Antigonus the king marched with the Achaeans to give aid against Cleomenes, and finding that his enemy was occupying the heights and passes about Sellasia, he drew up his forces near by with the purpose of attacking him and forcing a passage.[2] Philopoemen was stationed among the Macedonian cavalry with his own fellow-citizens,[3] and had as a support the Illyrians, a large body of

[3] According to Polybius, ii. 66. 7, a thousand Achaeans and as many Megalopolitans were stationed with the Macedonian cavalry.

2 πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ μαχίμοις. εἴρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἄχρι ἂν ἀπὸ θατέρου κέρως ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρθῇ φοινικὶς ὑπὲρ σαρίσης διατεταμένη. τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς πειρωμένων ἐκβιάζεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὥσπερ προσετέτακτο, τὴν ἐφεδρείαν ἐν τάξει διαφυλαττόντων, Εὐκλείδας ὁ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀδελφὸς καταμαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον διάσπασμα περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταχὺ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ψιλῶν περιέπεμψεν, ἐξόπισθεν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπιπεσεῖν κελεύσας καὶ περισπᾶν ἐρήμους τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολελειμμένους.

3 Γινομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς Ἰλλυ- 359
ριοὺς περισπώντων καὶ διαταραττόντων, συνιδὼν ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ μέγα ὂν ἔργον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ψιλοῖς καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὑφηγούμενον τοῦτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἔφραζε τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ μαίνεσθαι δοκῶν κατεφρονεῖτο, οὐδέπω μεγάλης οὐδὲ ἀξιοπίστου πρὸς τηλικοῦτο στρατήγημα δόξης περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης, αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλει
4 συνεπισπασάμενος τοὺς πολίτας. γενομένης δὲ ταραχῆς τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα φυγῆς καὶ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν ψιλῶν, βουλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιρρῶσαι τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ προσμῖξαι κατὰ τάχος θορυβουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς χωρία σκολιὰ καὶ μεστὰ ῥείθρων καὶ φαράγγων πεζὸς ἐν ἱππικῷ θώρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρυτέρᾳ χαλεπῶς καὶ ταλαιπώρως ἁμιλλώμενος διελαύνεται διαμπερὲς ὁμοῦ τοὺς μηροὺς ἑκατέρους

good fighters, who closed up the line of battle. They had been ordered to lie quietly in reserve until, from the other wing, a signal should be made by the king with a scarlet coat stretched upon a spear. But the Illyrians, at the command of their officers, tried to force back the Lacedaemonians, while the Achaeans, as they had been ordered to do, kept quietly waiting at their post. Therefore Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, who noticed the gap thus made in the enemies' line, quickly sent round the most agile of his light-armed troops, with orders to attack the Illyrians in the rear and rout them, now that they had lost touch with the cavalry.

These orders were carried out, and the light-armed troops were driving the Illyrians before them in confusion, when Philopoemen perceived that it would be no great task to attack the light-armed troops, and that the occasion prompted this step. At first he pointed this out to the king's officers. Then, when they were not to be persuaded by him, but looked down upon him as a madman (since his reputation was not yet great enough to justify his being entrusted with so important a manœuvre), he took matters into his own hands, formed his fellow-citizens into a wedge, and charged upon the enemy. At first the light-armed troops were thrown into confusion, then put to rout with great slaughter. And now Philopoemen, wishing to encourage still further the king's troops and bring them swiftly upon the enemy thus thrown into disorder, quitted his horse, and with grievous difficulty forced his way along on foot, in his horseman's breastplate and heavy equipment, towards ground that was irregular and full of water-courses and ravines. Here he had both his thighs pierced

ἐνὶ μεσαγκύλῳ, καιρίας μὲν οὐ γενομένης, ἰσχυρᾶς
δὲ τῆς πληγῆς, ὥστε τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα
5 διῶσαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐνσχεθεὶς ὥσπερ
δεσμῷ παντάπασιν ἀπόρως εἶχε· τὸ γὰρ ἔναμμα
τῆς ἀγκύλης χαλεπὴν ἐποίει τοῦ ἀκοντίσματος
ἀνελκομένου διὰ τῶν τραυμάτων τὴν πάροδον· ὡς
δὲ ὤκνουν οἱ παρόντες ἅψασθαι καὶ τῆς μάχης
ἀκμὴν ὀξεῖαν ἐχούσης ἐσφάδαζεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ
φιλοτιμίας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, τῇ παραβάσει καὶ
τῇ παραλλάξει τῶν σκελῶν διὰ μέσου κλάσας τὸ
ἀκόντισμα χωρὶς ἐκέλευσεν ἑλκύσαι τῶν ἀγμάτων
6 ἑκάτερον. οὕτω δὲ ἀπαλλαγεὶς καὶ σπασάμενος
τὸ ξίφος ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους, ὥστε πολλὴν προθυμίαν καὶ ζῆλον
ἀρετῆς παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις. νικήσας
οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν Μακεδόνων,
ἐρωτῶν διὰ τί, μὴ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἱππικὸν
7 ἐκίνησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀπολογουμένων ὡς παρὰ γνώμην
βιασθεῖεν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις μειρα-
κίου Μεγαλοπολιτικοῦ προεμβαλόντος, γελάσας
ὁ Ἀντίγονος "Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν τὸ μειράκιον," εἶπεν,
"ἔργον ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου πεποίηκεν."

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δόξαν ἔσχεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁ
Φιλοποίμην. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀντιγόνου σπουδά-
σαντος ὅπως στρατεύοιτο μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ διδόντος
ἡγεμονίαν καὶ χρήματα, παρῃτήσατο, μάλιστα
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καταμαθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι
δυσκόλως καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσαν, ἀργεῖν δὲ καὶ
σχολάζειν οὐ βουλόμενος ἀσκήσεως ἕνεκα καὶ
μελέτης τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰς Κρήτην ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ
2 στρατείαν. κἀκεῖ συχνὸν χρόνον ἐγγυμνασάμενος

through by a thonged javelin. The wound was not fatal, though severe, and the head of the weapon came out on the other side. At first, then, he was held fast as by a fetter, and was altogether helpless; for the fastening of the thong made it difficult to draw the weapon back through the wound. But since those about him hesitated to attempt this, and since, now that the battle was at its hottest, the ardour of his ambition made him impatient to join in the struggle, by moving his legs backward and forward he broke the shaft of the weapon in two in the middle, and then ordered each fragment to be drawn out separately. Thus set free, he drew his sword and made his way through the front ranks against the enemy, thereby greatly animating the combatants and inspiring them with a desire to emulate his valour. After his victory, therefore, Antigonus put his Macedonians to the question, and asked them why, without his orders, they had brought the cavalry into action. They defended themselves by saying that they had been forced against their will to attack the enemy, because a young man of Megalopolis had first led a charge against them. At this, Antigonus gave a laugh and said: "Well, then, that young man behaved like a great commander."

VII. This naturally brought Philopoemen into high repute. Antigonus was eager that he should take service under him, and offered him command and pay. These Philopoemen declined, chiefly because he well knew that it was naturally unpleasant and hard for him to be under another man's orders. Not wishing, however, to be inactive and idle, for the sake of training and practice in war he sailed to Crete in search of military service. In Crete he practised

ἀνδράσι μαχίμοις καὶ ποικίλοις μεταχειρίσασθαι
πόλεμον, ἔτι δὲ σώφροσι καὶ κεκολασμένοις περὶ
δίαιταν, ἐπανῆλθεν οὕτω λαμπρὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαι-
3 οὺς ὥστε εὐθὺς ἵππαρχος ἀποδειχθῆναι. παρα-
λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς φαύλοις μὲν ἱππαρίοις
ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος, ὅτε συμβαίνοι στρατεία,
προσχρωμένους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν στρα-
τειῶν ἀποδιδράσκοντας, ἑτέρους δὲ πέμποντας
ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν, δεινὴν δὲ ἀπειρίαν μετὰ ἀτολμίας
πάντων οὖσαν, περιορῶντας δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἄρχον-
τας ἀεὶ διά τε τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοὺς
ἱππεῖς δύνασθαι καὶ μάλιστα κυρίους εἶναι τιμῆς
4 καὶ κολάσεως, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν οὐδὲ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νέων ἕκαστον
ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν συνεξορμῶν, καὶ κολάζων τοὺς
ἀνάγκης δεομένους, μελέταις τε καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁμίλλαις χρώμενος, ὅπου πλεῖστοι
θεᾶσθαι μέλλοιεν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσι ῥώμην τε
5 θαυμαστὴν καὶ προθυμίαν παρέστησε καί, ὃ
μέγιστον ἦν ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς, ἐλαφροὺς καὶ ὀξεῖς 360
πρός τε τὰς κατ' οὐλαμὸν ἐπιστροφὰς καὶ περι-
σπασμοὺς καὶ τὰς καθ' ἵππον ἐπιστροφὰς καὶ
κλίσεις ἀπειργάσατο, καὶ συνείθισεν ὡς ἑνὶ σώματι
κινουμένῳ καθ' ὁρμὴν ἑκούσιον ἐοικέναι τὴν ὅλου
τοῦ συστήματος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς εὐχέρειαν.

6 Συστάσης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν Λάρισσον αὐτοῖς
ποταμὸν ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ
Ἠλείους, ὁ τῶν Ἠλείων ἵππαρχος Δαμόφαντος

himself for a long time among men who were not only warlike and versed in many kinds of warfare, but also still moderate and restrained in their ways of living, and he came back to the Achaeans with such distinction that they at once made him commander of their cavalry.[1] But he found that the horsemen whom he was to command used worthless animals acquired at random, whenever a campaign was to be undertaken; that they shirked most campaigns themselves, and sent others out in their places; that they were all characterized by a shocking lack of experience, together with its resultant cowardice; and that their commanders always overlooked these things because the knights had the greatest power and influence among the Achaeans and the chief voice in the assignment of rewards and punishments. Philopoemen, however, did not yield or give way to them. He went round to the different cities and roused the spirit of ambition in each young man individually, punished those who needed compulsion, introduced drills, parades, and competitive contests in places where there would be large bodies of spectators and thus in a short time inspired them all with an astonishing vigour and zeal, and, what is of the greatest importance in tactics, rendered them agile and swift in wheeling and deploying by squadrons, and in wheeling and turning by single trooper, making the dexterity shown by the whole mass in its evolutions to be like that of a single person moved by an impulse from within.

Moreover, in the fierce battle which they fought at the river Larissus against Aetolians and Eleians, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, Damophantus,

[1] For the year 209-208 B.C.

ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλοποίμενα προεξελάσας. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῦ καὶ φθάσας τῷ δόρατι παίει καὶ καταβάλλει τὸν Δαμόφαντον.
7 εὐθὺς δὲ τούτου πεσόντος ἔφυγον οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ὡς οὔτε κατὰ χεῖρα τῶν νέων τινὸς οὔτε συνέσει τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀπολειπόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἱκανώτατος.

VIII. Τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρῶτος μὲν Ἄρατος εἰς ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν ἦρεν, ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ διερριμμένου κατὰ πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ πολιτευσάμενος Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον πολιτείαν· ἔπειτα, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν, ἀρξαμένων ὀλίγων ὑφίστασθαι καὶ μικρῶν σωμάτων, ἤδη τὰ ἐπιρρέοντα τοῖς πρώτοις ἐνισχόμενα καὶ περιπίπτοντα πῆξιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ στερεότητα
2 ποιεῖ δι' ἀλλήλων, οὕτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενοῦς καὶ εὐδιαλύτου φερομένης κατὰ πόλεις ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πρῶτον συστάντες οἱ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βοηθεῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰς δὲ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ πολιτείᾳ καταμιγνύντες εἰς ἑαυτούς, ἓν σῶμα καὶ μίαν δύναμιν κατασκευάσαι
3 διενοοῦντο τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀλλ' Ἀράτου μὲν ζῶντος ἔτι τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὅπλοις ὑπεδύοντο τὰ πολλά, θεραπεύοντες Πτολεμαῖον, εἶτ' αὖθις Ἀντίγονον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐν μέσαις ἀναστρεφομένους ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πράξεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλοποίμην εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προῆλθεν, ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτοὺς

rode out from the ranks and charged upon Philopoemen. But Philopoemen received his onset, was first to drive home a spear-thrust, and threw Damophantus to the ground. Their leader fallen, the enemy at once took to flight, and Philopoemen was in high renown, as one who yielded to none of the young men in personal prowess, and to none of the elder men in sagacity, but both in fighting and in commanding was most capable.

VIII. The commonwealth of the Achaeans was first raised to dignity and power by Aratus, who consolidated it when it was feeble and disrupted, and inaugurated an Hellenic and humane form of government. Then, just as in running waters, after a few small particles have begun to take a fixed position, others presently are swept against the first, adhere and cling to them, and thus form a fixed and solid mass by mutual support, so the Achaeans, at a time when Greece was weak and easily dissolved and drifting along by individual cities, first united themselves together, and then, by receiving into their number some of the cities round about which they had aided and assisted in shaking off their tyrants, and by uniting others with themselves in a harmonious civil polity, they purposed to form the Peloponnesus into a single political body and one power. As long, however, as Aratus lived, they were dependent for the most part on Macedonian armies, paying court to Ptolemy, and then again to Antigonus and Philip, all of whom busied themselves in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopoemen was advanced to leadership among them,[1] they were at last capable of contending

[1] In 207 B.C.; Aratus had died in 213.

ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι πλεῖστον ὄντες ἐπαύ-
4 σαντο χρώμενοι προστάταις ἐπεισάκτοις. Ἄρατος μὲν γάρ, ἀργότερος εἶναι δοκῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ πρᾳότητι καὶ φιλίαις βασιλικαῖς τὰ πλεῖστα κατειργάσατο τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Φιλοποίμην δὲ ἀγαθὸς πολεμιστὴς ὢν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐνεργός, ἔτι δ' εὐτυχὴς καὶ κατορθωτικὸς εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς πρώταις γενόμενος μάχαις, ἅμα τῇ δυνάμει τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ηὔξησε νικᾶν ἐθισθέντων μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατευτυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἀγῶσι.

IX. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς ὁπλισμοὺς φαύλως ἔχοντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐκίνησεν. ἐχρῶντο μὲν γὰρ θυρεοῖς μὲν εὐπετέσι διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ στενωτέροις τοῦ περιστέλλειν τὰ σώματα, δόρασι δὲ μικροτέροις πολὺ τῶν σαρισῶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλῆκται καὶ μάχιμοι πόρρωθεν ἦσαν ὑπὸ κουφότητος, προσμίξαντες
2 δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔλαττον εἶχον· εἶδος δὲ τάξεως καὶ σχήματος εἰς σπεῖραν οὐκ ἦν σύνηθες, φάλαγγι δὲ χρώμενοι μήτε προβολὴν ἐχούσῃ μήτε συνασπισμὸν ὡς ἡ Μακεδόνων, ῥᾳδίως ἐξεθλίβοντο καὶ διεσπῶντο. ταῦτα ὁ Φιλοποίμην διδάξας ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ μὲν θυρεοῦ καὶ δόρατος ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν καὶ σάρισαν, κράνεσι δὲ καὶ θώραξι καὶ περικνημῖσι πεφραγμένους μόνιμον καὶ βεβηκυῖαν ἀντὶ δρομικῆς καὶ πελταστικῆς μάχην ἀσκεῖν.

alone with their most powerful neighbours, and ceased to rely upon foreign protectors. Aratus, indeed, who was thought to be too sluggish for warlike contests, accomplished most of his undertakings by conference, urbanity, and royal friendships, as I have written in his Life;[1] whereas Philopoemen, who was a good warrior and effective with his weapons, besides proving himself fortunate and successful in his very first battles, increased not only the power but also the courage of the Achaeans, who were accustomed to be victorious under him and to win success in most of their contests.

IX. In the first place, however, he changed the faulty practice of the Achaeans in drawing up and arming their soldiers. For they used bucklers which were easily carried because they were so light, and yet were too narrow to protect the body; and spears which were much shorter than the Macedonian pike. For this reason they were effective in fighting at a long distance, because they were so lightly armed, but when they came to close quarters with the enemy they were at a disadvantage. Moreover, a division of line and formation into cohorts was not customary with them, and since they employed a solid phalanx without either levelled line of spears or wall of interlocking shields such as the Macedonian phalanx presented, they were easily dislodged and scattered. Philopoemen showed them all this, and persuaded them to adopt long pike and heavy shield instead of spear and buckler, to protect their bodies with helmets and breastplates and greaves, and to practise stationary and steadfast fighting instead of the nimble movements of light-armed troops. After

[1] See the *Aratus*, x.

3 πείσας δὲ καθοπλίσασθαι τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρῶτον
μὲν ἐπῆρε θαρρεῖν ὡς ἀμάχους γεγονότας, ἔπειτα
τὰς τρυφὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας ἄριστα
μετεκόσμησεν. ἀφελεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν παντάπασιν
ἐκ πολλοῦ νοσούντων τὸν κενὸν καὶ μάταιον ζῆλον,
ἐσθῆτας ἀγαπώντων περιττὰς στρωμνάς τε βαπτο-
μένων ἁλουργεῖς καὶ περὶ δεῖπνα φιλοτιμουμένων 361
4 καὶ τραπέζας. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενος ἐκτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῶν
οὐκ ἀναγκαίων ἐπὶ τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ καλὰ τὴν
φιλοκοσμίαν, ταχὺ πάντας ἔπεισε καὶ παρώρμησε
τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν περὶ σῶμα δαπάνας κολούσαντας
ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς καὶ πολεμικαῖς παρασκευ-
5 αῖς διαπρεπεῖς ὁρᾶσθαι κεκοσμημένους. ἦν οὖν
ἰδεῖν τὰ μὲν ἐργαστήρια μεστὰ κατακοπτομένων
κυλίκων καὶ Θηρικλείων, χρυσουμένων δὲ θωράκων
καὶ καταργυρουμένων θυρεῶν καὶ χαλινῶν, τὰ δὲ
στάδια πώλων δαμαζομένων καὶ νεανίσκων ὁπλο-
μαχούντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν γυναικῶν κράνη
καὶ πτερὰ βαφαῖς κοσμούμενα καὶ χιτώνων ἱππι-
κῶν καὶ στρατιωτικῶν χλαμύδων διηνθισμένων.
6 ἡ δ' ὄψις αὕτη τὸ θάρσος αὔξουσα καὶ παρακα-
λοῦσα τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποίει φιλοπαράβολον καὶ πρό-
7 θυμον ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
ἄλλοις θεάμασι πολυτέλεια τρυφὴν ἐπάγεται καὶ
μαλακίαν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς χρωμένοις, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
νυγμῶν καὶ γαργαλισμῶν τῆς αἰσθήσεως συνεπι-
κλώσης τὴν διάνοιαν, ἡ δ' εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥώννυσι
καὶ μεγαλύνει τὸν θυμόν, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε
τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τῶν καινῶν ὅπλων παρατεθέντων

he had persuaded those of military age to arm themselves in this manner, in the first place he inspired them with confidence that they had thus become invincible, and then made most excellent reforms in their luxurious and extravagant ways of living. For it was not possible to remove altogether their empty and idle emulation from a people long addicted to it. They were fond of costly apparel, the coverings of their couches were dyed purple, and they vied with one another in banquets and table array. But he made a beginning by diverting their love of show from what was unnecessary to what was serviceable and honourable, and speedily persuaded and incited them all to check their daily expenditures upon bodily wants, and to find their chief adornment in military and warlike equipments. And so one might have seen the workshops filled with goblets and Therycleian plate [1] which were being broken up, with breastplates being gilded, with shields and bridles being silvered over, while in the places of exercise colts were being broken in and young men were learning the use of heavy armour, and in the hands of women there were helmets and plumes for dyeing, and horsemen's tunics or soldiers' cloaks for embroidering. The sight of all this increased men's courage, called forth their energies, and made them venturesome and ready to incur dangers. For extravagance in other objects of display induces luxury and implants effeminacy in those who use them, since something like a pricking and tickling of the senses breaks down serious purpose; but when it is seen in the trappings of war it strengthens and exalts the spirit, just as Homer represented Achilles, when his

[1] See the *Aemilius Paulus*, xxxiii. 2.

ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως οἷον ὀργῶντα καὶ φλεγόμενον πρὸς τὴν δι' αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν.

Οὕτω δὲ κοσμήσας τοὺς νέους ἐγύμναζε καὶ διεπόνει, ταῖς κινήσεσι προθύμως ὑπακούοντας
8 *καὶ φιλοτίμως. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τάξις θαυμαστῶς ἠγαπᾶτο ἄθραυστόν τι λαμβάνειν πύκνωμα δοκοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίνετο χειροήθη καὶ κοῦφα, μεθ' ἡδονῆς διὰ λαμπρότητα καὶ κάλλος ἁπτομένων καὶ φορούντων, ἐναγωνίσασθαί τε βουλομένων καὶ διακριθῆναι τάχιστα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.*

X. *Ἦν δὲ τότε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ πρὸς Μαχανίδαν πόλεμος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων τύραννον, ἀπὸ πολλῆς καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπιβουλεύοντα πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοις. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν ἐμβεβληκὼς ἀπηγγέλθη, κατὰ τάχος ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως παρετάξαντο πολλοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἑκάτεροι, πάσαις δὲ ὁμοῦ τι ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμεσι.*
2 *γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσίν, ὁ Μαχανίδας τοῖς ξένοις τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προτεταγμένους ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ Ταραντίνους τρεψάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ παραρρηγνύναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξέπεσε διώκων καὶ παρήλλαξε τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν τάξει*
3 *μενόντων. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην τηλικούτου πταίσματος ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολωλέναι κομιδῇ καὶ διεφθάρθαι δοκούντων, τοῦτο μὲν ὅμως προσεποιεῖτο παρορᾶν καὶ μηδὲν*

new armour was laid down near him, as exulting at the sight and all on fire to get to work with it.[1]

After he had thus arrayed and adorned the young men, Philopoemen exercised and drilled them, and they eagerly and emulously obeyed his instructions. For the new order of battle pleased them wonderfully, since it seemed to secure a close array that could not be broken; and the armour which they used became light and manageable for them, since they wore or grasped it with delight because of its beauty and splendour, and wished to get into action with it and fight a decisive battle with their enemies as soon as possible.

X. At this time the Achaeans were carrying on war with Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta, who, relying upon his large and strong forces, was scheming to get control of the whole Peloponnesus. Accordingly, when word came that the tyrant had invaded the territory of Mantineia, Philopoemen quickly led his army out against him. They drew up in battle array near the city, both parties having many mercenaries and almost all their citizen soldiery. When battle was joined, Machanidas with his mercenaries routed the javelineers and Tarantines who had been stationed in front of the Achaean line, and then, instead of advancing directly against the main body of the enemy and breaking up their close array, he dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and so passed by the phalanx of the Achaeans, which remained drawn up in position. Then Philopoemen, although so great a disaster had occurred at the outset and his cause was thought to be utterly lost and ruined, professed to ignore and make light of it, and seeing what

[1] *Iliad*, xix. 15 ff.

ἡγεῖσθαι δεινόν, κατιδὼν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅσον
ἡμάρτανον ἐν τῇ διώξει, τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπορ-
ρηγνυμένους καὶ κενὴν χώραν διδόντας, οὐκ ἀπήν-
τησεν οὐδ' ἐνέστη φερομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς
4 φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐάσας παρελθεῖν καὶ διάσπασμα
ποιῆσαι μέγα πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας εὐθὺς ἦγε τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁρῶν τὴν φάλαγγα γυμνὴν ἀπο-
λελειμμένην, καὶ κατὰ κέρας παραδραμὼν ἐνέ-
βαλε, μήτε ἄρχοντος αὐτοῖς παρόντος μήτε
μάχεσθαι προσδεχομένοις· νικᾶν γὰρ ἡγοῦντο
καὶ κρατεῖν παντάπασι, διώκοντα τὸν Μαχανίδαν
5 ὁρῶντες. ὠσάμενος δὲ τούτους φόνῳ πολλῷ (λέ-
γονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν)
ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαχανίδαν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως
ἀναστρέφοντα μετὰ τῶν ξένων. τάφρου δὲ με- 362
γάλης καὶ βαθείας ἐν μέσῳ διειργούσης, παρεξή-
λαυνον ἀλλήλοις ἑκατέρωθεν, ὁ μὲν διαβῆναι καὶ
6 φυγεῖν, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο κωλῦσαι βουλόμενος. ἦν δὲ
ὄψις οὐχ ὡς στρατηγῶν μαχομένων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
θηρίῳ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τρεπομένῳ δεινοῦ
κυνηγέτου τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος συνεστῶτος. ἔνθα ὁ
μὲν ἵππος τοῦ τυράννου ῥωμαλέος ὢν καὶ θυμοειδὴς
καὶ τοῖς μύωψιν αἱμαχθεὶς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπετόλ-
μησε τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ τάφρῳ τὸ
στῆθος ἐβιάζετο τοῖς προσθίοις πέραν ἐρείσασθαι
7 σκέλεσιν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σιμίας καὶ Πολύαινος,
οἵπερ ἀεὶ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι παρῆσαν μαχομένῳ καὶ
συνήσπιζον, ὁμοῦ προσήλαυνον ἀμφότεροι τὰς
αἰχμὰς κλίναντες ἐναντίας. φθάνει δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ
Φιλοποίμην ἀπαντήσας τῷ Μαχανίδᾳ, καὶ τὸν
ἵππον αὐτοῦ μετεωρίζοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸ τοῦ

a great mistake the enemy had made by going off in pursuit, thus breaking away from his phalanx and leaving a vacant space there, did not oppose or resist their chase after the fugitives, but let them pass him by and make a great gap. Then he led straight against the Lacedaemonian heavy-armed, seeing that their phalanx had been left exposed, and fell upon them in a flank attack, while their commander was away and they were not expecting to fight; for they thought they were victorious and getting the upper hand altogether, since they saw Machanidas pursuing. After Philopoemen had routed these with great slaughter (more than four thousand of them are said to have fallen), he set out against Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. But a broad and deep ditch stretched between them, along which the two leaders rode opposite each other, one wishing to get across and escape, the other to prevent this. The spectacle was not that of two commanders fighting, but that of a powerful hunter attacking a wild beast that has been forced to turn at bay, and Philopoemen was the hunter. And now the tyrant's horse, which was vigorous and high-spirited and felt the bloody spurs in his sides, essayed to make the leap across, and striking against the edge of the ditch with his breast, was struggling with his fore-feet to extricate himself. At this point Simmias and Polyaenus, who were always at Philopoemen's side when he was fighting and protected him with their shields, rode up both at the same time and levelled their spears at the horse. But Philopoemen was before them in attacking Machanidas, and seeing that the tyrant's horse was lifting its head up in front of its rider's body, he

σώματος ὁρῶν μικρὸν ἐνέκλινε τὸν ἴδιον, καὶ διαλαβὼν τὸ ξυστὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ὠθεῖ καὶ περιτρέπει
8 τὸν ἄνδρα συνεπερείσας. τοῦτο ἔχων τὸ σχῆμα χαλκοῦς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἕστηκεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν θαυμασάντων μάλιστα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην.

XI. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς τῶν Νεμείων πανηγύρεως συνεστώσης[1] στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Φιλοποίμενα τὸ δεύτερον καὶ νενικηκότα μὲν οὐ πάλαι τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην, τότε δὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντα διὰ τὴν ἑορτήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κεκοσμημένην τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ κινουμένην, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, τοὺς τακτικοὺς ῥυθμοὺς μετὰ
2 τάχους καὶ ῥώμης· ἔπειτα κιθαρῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθεῖν ἔχοντα τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς χλαμύσι καὶ τοῖς φοινικοῖς ὑποδύταις, ἀκμάζοντάς τε τοῖς σώμασιν ἅπαντας καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις παραλλήλους, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρόνημα νεανικὸν ὑποφαίνοντας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἀγώνων· ἄρτι δ' αὐτῶν εἰσεληλυθότων κατὰ τύχην Πυλάδην τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ᾄδοντα τοὺς Τιμοθέου Πέρσας ἐνάρξασθαι

> Κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἑλλάδι κόσμον·

3 ἅμα δὲ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν ὄγκου συμπρέψαντος ἐπίβλεψιν γενέσθαι τοῦ θεάτρου πανταχόθεν εἰς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα καὶ κρότον μετὰ χαρᾶς, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ παλαιὸν

[1] συνεστώσης Bekker has ἐνεστώσης, after Bryan.

gave his own horse a little swerve to one side, and then, clasping his spear firmly in the middle, pushed it home with all his weight and overturned his enemy. This is the attitude in which he is represented by a bronze statue set up at Delphi by the Achaeans, who admired especially both his deed of prowess and his generalship on that day.

XI. Moreover, we are told that at the celebration of the Nemean games,[1] when he was general of the Achaeans for the second time and had recently won his victory at Mantineia,[2] but was at leisure the while on account of the festival, Philopoemen in the first place displayed before the assembled Greeks his phalanx, with its splendid array, and performing its tactical evolutions, as it was wont to do, with speed and vigour. Then, while the minstrels were contending for the prize, he came into the theatre with his young men. They wore their soldiers' cloaks and their purple tunics, were all in the prime of their strength and of the same age, and showed not only great respect for their commander, but also that high spirit which young men have after many honourable contests. And just as they made their entrance it chanced that Pylades the minstrel was chanting the opening verse of the *Persians* of Timotheus—

"Glorious the crown of freedom which he fashioneth
for Hellas";

whereupon, as the splendid voice of the singer fitly sustained the majesty of the poet's words, all the spectators turned their eyes upon Philopoemen and gave him glad applause; for in their hopes the

[1] In the summer of 205 B.C.
[2] In the spring of 206 B.C.

ἀξίωμα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀναλαμβανόντων καὶ τοῦ τότε φρονήματος ἔγγιστα τῷ θαρρεῖν γινομένων.[1]

XII. Παρὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, ὥσπερ οἱ πῶλοι τοὺς συνήθεις ἐπιβάτας ποθοῦντες, ἐὰν ἄλλον φέρωσι, πτύρονται καὶ ξενοπαθοῦσιν, οὕτως ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦντος ἠθύμει καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπάπταινε καὶ μόνον ὀφθέντος εὐθὺς ὀρθὴ καὶ δραστήριος ἦν διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους αἰσθανόμενοι πρὸς ἕνα τοῦτον τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντιβλέπειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὔνομα δεδοικότας, ὡς ἦν φανερὸν ἐξ
2 ὧν ἔπρασσον. Φίλιππος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς οἰόμενος, ἂν ἐκποδὼν ὁ Φιλοποίμην γένηται, πάλιν ὑποπτήξειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἄργος κρύφα τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας αὐτόν· ἐπιγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς παντάπασιν ἐξεμισήθη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς
3 Ἕλληνας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες Μέγαρα καὶ λήψεσθαι ταχέως ἐλπίζοντες, ἐξαίφνης λόγου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς, ὃς οὐκ ἦν ἀληθής, Φιλοποίμενα βοηθοῦντα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τὰς κλίμακας ἀφέντες ἤδη προσερηρεισ-
4 μένας τοῖς τείχεσιν ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες. Νάβιδος δὲ τοῦ μετὰ Μαχανίδαν τυραννοῦντος Λακεδαιμονίων Μεσσήνην ἄφνω καταλαβόντος, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἰδιώτης ὢν τότε ὁ Φιλοποίμην καὶ δυνάμεως οὐδεμιᾶς κύριος, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν στρατηγοῦντα τῶν 363
Ἀχαιῶν Λύσιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσ-

[1] γινομένων Bekker after Coraës: γενομένων.

Greeks were recovering their ancient dignity, and in their courage they were making the nearest approach to the high spirit of their fathers.

XII. But when it came to perils and battles, just as young horses long for their accustomed riders, and if they have others on their backs, are shy and wild, so the Achaean army, when someone other than Philopoemen was commander-in-chief,[1] would be out of heart, would keep looking eagerly for him, and if he but came in sight, would at once be alert and efficient because of the courage he inspired. For they perceived that he was the one general whom their enemies were unable to face, and whose name and fame they feared, as was evident from what they did. For Philip the king of Macedon, thinking that if Philopoemen could be got out of the way the Achaeans would again submit abjectly to his sway, secretly sent men to Argos who were to assassinate him; but the plot became known, and Philip was utterly condemned and hated among the Greeks. Again, the Boeotians were besieging Megara and had hopes of its speedy capture, when suddenly a report reached their ears (and it was a false report) that Philopoemen was coming to the aid of the besieged and was close at hand; so they abandoned their scaling-ladders, which were already planted against the walls of the city, and fled away. And once again, when Nabis, who succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, suddenly seized Messene, it chanced that Philopoemen was out of office and had no force under his command; but since Lysippus, the commander-in-chief of the Achaeans, could not be persuaded by him to go to the rescue of the

[1] As a rule, the same man could not be general of the Achaean league two years in succession.

σηνίοις, ἀπολωλέναι κομιδῇ φάσκοντα τὴν πόλιν ἔνδον γεγονότων τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸς ἐβοήθει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας ἀναλαβὼν οὔτε νόμον οὔτε χειροτονίαν περιμείναντας, ἀλλ' ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἄρχοντι τῷ κρείττονι κατὰ φύσιν ἑπομένους.
5 ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ πλησίον ὄντος ἀκούσας ὁ Νάβις οὐχ ὑπέστη, καίπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύων, ἀλλ' ὑπεκδὺς διὰ πυλῶν ἑτέρων κατὰ τάχος ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, εὐτυχίᾳ χρήσασθαι δοκῶν εἰ διαφύγοι· καὶ διέφυγε, Μεσσήνη δ' ἠλευθέρωτο.

XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καλὰ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος· ἡ δ' εἰς Κρήτην αὖθις ἀποδημία Γορτυνίων δεηθέντων, ὡς χρήσαιντο πολεμούμενοι στρατηγῷ, διαβολὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ πολεμουμένης ὑπὸ Νάβιδος ἀπῆν φυγομαχῶν ἢ φιλοτιμούμενος ἀκαίρως πρὸς ἑτέρους. καίτοι συντόνως οὕτως ἐπολεμήθησαν Μεγαλοπολῖται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ὥστε τοῖς μὲν τείχεσιν ἐνοικεῖν, σπείρειν δὲ τοὺς στενωπούς, περικεκομμένης[1] τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σχεδὸν
2 ἐν ταῖς πύλαις στρατοπεδευόντων. ὁ δὲ Κρησὶ πολεμῶν τηνικαῦτα καὶ στρατηγῶν διαπόντιος ἐγκλήματα παρεῖχε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὡς ἀποδιδράσκων τὸν οἴκοι πόλεμον. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ λέγοντες, ἑτέρους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ᾑρημένων ἄρχοντας, ἰδιώτην ὄντα τὸν Φιλοποίμενα χρῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σχολὴν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ δεηθεῖσι τοῖς

[1] περικεκομμένης Coraës and Bekker, with the vulgate: περικεκομμένους.

Messenians, because, as he said, the city was utterly lost now that the enemy were inside, Philopoemen himself went to their rescue, taking with him his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis, who did not wait for any law or commission, but followed the man whom nature had made superior as though he were always in command. And when Nabis heard that Philopoemen was already close at hand, he did not wait for him to come up, although he was encamped in the city, but stole out by an opposite gate and led his forces off as fast as he could, thinking that he would be fortunate if he should escape; and he did escape, and Messene was set free.

XIII. All these things, then, made for the honour of Philopoemen; but his going away to Crete again at the request of the Gortynians, who wanted him to be their general in their war, brought calumny upon him, and it was said that when his native city was at war with Nabis, he was away, either to avoid fighting or to show kindness out of all season to others. And yet so continuously were the Megalopolitans under hostile attack all that time that they lived upon their walls and planted their grain in the streets, since their fields were ravaged and the enemy were encamped almost in their gates. Philopoemen, however, was waging war in Crete all that while, and serving as general across the sea, and so afforded his enemies a chance to accuse him of running away from the war at home. But there were some who said that since the Achaeans chose other men as their generals and Philopoemen was without public office, he merely put the leisure which belonged to him at the service of the Gortynians when they

3 Γορτυνίοις. ἦν γὰρ ἀλλότριος σχολῆς, καθάπερ
ἄλλο τι κτῆμα τὴν στρατηγικὴν καὶ πολεμικὴν
ἀρετὴν ἔχειν διὰ παντὸς ἐν χρήσει καὶ τριβῇ
βουλόμενος, ὡς καὶ τῷ περὶ Πτολεμαίου ποτὲ
ῥηθέντι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεδήλωσεν. ἐκεῖνον γὰρ
ἐγκωμιαζόντων τινῶν ὡς εὖ μὲν ἐξασκοῦντα τὸ
στράτευμα καθ' ἡμέραν, εὖ δὲ γυμνάζοντα καὶ
φιλοπόνως διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ σῶμα, "Καὶ τίς
ἄν," ἔφη, "βασιλέα θαυμάσειεν ἐν τούτῳ τῆς
ἡλικίας μὴ ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ἀλλὰ μελετῶντα;"

4 Χαλεπῶς δ' οὖν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται φέροντες
ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ προδεδόσθαι νομίζοντες ἐπεχείρησαν
ἀποξενοῦν αὐτόν· οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ διεκώλυσαν Ἀρί-
σταινον πέμψαντες εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν στρατηγόν,
ὃς καίπερ ὢν διάφορος τῷ Φιλοποίμενι περὶ τὴν
πολιτείαν, οὐκ εἴασε τελεσθῆναι τὴν καταδίκην.
5 ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ
Φιλοποίμην ἀπέστησε πολλὰς τῶν περιοικίδων
κωμῶν, λέγειν διδάξας ὡς οὐ συνετέλουν οὐδὲ
ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκείνων, καὶ λεγούσαις ταῦτα
φανερῶς συνηγωνίσατο καὶ συγκατεστασίασε τὴν
πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

6 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ συνεπολέμει τοῖς Γορτυνίοις,
οὐχ ὡς Πελοποννήσιος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ἀρκὰς ἁπλοῦν
τινα καὶ γενναῖον πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ Κρητικὸν
ἦθος ἐνδὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων σοφίσμασι καὶ δόλοις
κλωπείαις τε καὶ λοχισμοῖς χρώμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

asked him to be their leader. For he was averse to inactivity, and wished to keep his skill as a commander in war, like any other possession, all the while in use and exercise. And he made this evident by what he once said about King Ptolemy. When certain persons were extolling that monarch because he carefully drilled his army day by day, and carefully and laboriously exercised himself in arms, "And yet who," said Philopoemen, "can admire a king of his years for always practising but never performing anything?"

The Megalopolitans, nevertheless, were displeased at this absence, and looking upon it in the light of a betrayal, undertook to make him an exile; but the Achaeans prevented this by sending to Megalopolis Aristaenus, their commander-in-chief, who, although politically at variance with Philopoemen, would not suffer sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him. In consequence of this displeasure, Philopoemen was ignored by his fellow-citizens, and therefore induced many of their outlying villages to secede from them, instructing them to say that they were not tributary to the city and had not originally belonged to it; and when they made this plea, he openly supported them in their contention and helped them to raise a faction against the city in the assembly of the Achaeans. This, however, was at a later time.

In Crete he waged war in the service of the Gortynians; not the straightforward and honourable warfare of a Peloponnesian and Arcadian, but one in which he adopted the Cretan practices, and turning their tricks and wiles and stolen marches and ambuscades against themselves, speedily showed them

ταχὺ παῖδας ἀπέδειξεν ἀνόητα καὶ κενὰ πρὸς
ἐμπειρίαν ἀληθινὴν πανουργοῦντας.

XIV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ θαυμασθεὶς καὶ λαμπρὸς
παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ πράξεων ἀνακομισθεὶς εἰς Πελο-
πόννησον εὗρε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τίτου
καταπεπολεμημένον, τὸν δὲ Νάβιν ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολεμούμενον. ἐφ'
ὃν εὐθὺς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχων καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ παραβα-
λόμενος τὸ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου παθεῖν ἔδοξε, πολὺ
τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ
2 κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενος. πλὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν
ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ὀκνοῦντα γεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασ-
σαν ὠφελειῶν τοὺς πολίτας, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ
λάθωσιν ἀντὶ μονίμων ὁπλιτῶν, κατὰ Πλάτωνα, 364
ναῦται γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες, ἄπρακτον ἐκ
τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ἀπελθεῖν ἑκουσίως·
3 Φιλοποίμην δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπιστήμην καὶ
διὰ θαλάττης ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καλῶς
ἀγωνίσασθαι πεπεισμένος, ἔγνω τὴν ἄσκησιν
ἡλίκον μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πόσην ἐπὶ
πάντα τοῖς ἐθισθεῖσι δύναμιν προστίθησιν. οὐ
γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν
ἔλαττον ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦν τινα, παλαιὰν
μέν, ἔνδοξον δέ, δι' ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα κατα-
σπάσας ἐπλήρωσεν, ὥστε μὴ στεγούσης κινδυ-
νεῦσαι τοὺς πλέοντας.

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[1] In the battle of Cynoscephalae, 197 B.C. See the *Flamininus*, xiii.

that they were children opposing foolish and vain mischievousness to genuine military experience.

XIV. Having thus won admiration, and having come back to Peloponnesus with a brilliant reputation from his exploits in Crete, he found that Philip had been defeated and subdued by Titus Flamininus,[1] and that the Achaeans and the Romans were waging war upon Nabis. He was at once chosen general against Nabis, and by hazarding the issue on a naval battle would seem to have fared as Epaminondas once did, since he fought on the sea in a manner which fell far short of his great reputation. Epaminondas, however, as some say, was reluctant to give his fellow-citizens a taste of the advantages accruing from naval superiority, in order that they might not surprise him by becoming, instead of "steadfast hoplites," to use Plato's words,[2] degenerate mariners; and therefore he purposely came back from Asia and the islands without achieving anything.[3] Philopoemen, on the other hand, was persuaded that his skill in handling land forces would suffice to give him success in fighting also on the sea, and therefore learned to his cost how large a part of superior excellence consists in practice, and how much additional power it gives to men who have accustomed themselves to all methods of fighting. For not only was he worsted in the sea-fight, owing to his lack of experience, but he actually launched an old but famous ship after forty years of disuse, and manned her, the result being that her seams took in water and her crew came into peril of their lives.

[2] *Laws*, iv. p. 706. Cf. the *Themistocles*, iv. 3.

[3] In 364 B.C., two years before his death, Epaminondas successfully inaugurated a naval policy for Thebes, which enabled her to cope with Athens on the sea.

4 Πρὸς ταῦτα γινώσκων καταφρονοῦντας αὐτοῦ
τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς παντάπασι πεφευγότος ἐκ τῆς
θαλάττης, καὶ πολιορκοῦντας ὑπερηφάνως τὸ
Γύθιον, εὐθὺς ἐπέπλευσεν αὐτοῖς οὐ προσδοκῶσιν,
ἀλλ' ἐκλελυμένοις διὰ τὴν νίκην. καὶ νυκτὸς
ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ προσαγαγών,
πῦρ ἐνῆκε ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατέ-
5 καυσε καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον
ἡμέραις καθ' ὁδὸν ἐν δυσχωρίαις τισὶν ἄφνω τοῦ
Νάβιδος ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήσαντος τοὺς
'Αχαιοὺς ἀνέλπιστον ἡγουμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν
ἐκ τόπων χαλεπῶν καὶ γεγονότων ὑποχειρίων
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπιστὰς καὶ περι-
λαβὼν ὄψει τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐπέδειξε τὴν
τακτικὴν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς πολεμικῆς τέχνην οὖσαν
οὕτω μικρὰ κινήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ πρὸς
τὰ παρόντα μεθαρμόσας ἀθορύβως καὶ ῥᾳδίως
διεκρούσατο τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς
6 πολεμίοις τροπὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἑώρα φεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ τῆς χώρας
ἄλλον ἄλλῃ διασπειρόμενον (ὑλώδης δὲ καὶ περί-
βουνος ἦν πᾶσα καὶ δύσιππος ὑπὸ ῥείθρων καὶ
φαράγγων), τὴν μὲν δίωξιν ἐπέσχε καὶ κατεστρα-
τοπέδευσεν ἔτι φωτὸς ὄντος· τεκμαιρόμενος δὲ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καθ' ἕνα καὶ δύο
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπάξειν σκοταίους, ἐλλοχίζει τοῖς
περὶ τὸ ἄστυ ῥείθροις καὶ λόφοις πολλοὺς ἔχοντας
7 ἐγχειρίδια τῶν 'Αχαιῶν. ἐνταῦθα πλείστους ἀπο-
θανεῖν συνέβη τῶν τοῦ Νάβιδος· ἅτε γὰρ οὐκ

Understanding that in consequence of this disaster his enemies despised him, thinking that he had altogether given up activity on the sea, and that they were insolently besieging Gythium, he promptly sailed against them when they did not expect it and were careless because of their victory. He landed his soldiers by night and led them to the attack, set fire to the enemy's tents, burned down his camp, and slew many of his men. A few days afterward, as he was marching through a rough country, Nabis came suddenly upon him and threw the Achaeans into a fright; they despaired of saving themselves from a position which was difficult and already commanded by the enemy. But Philopoemen waited a little while, surveyed the nature of the ground, and then demonstrated that skill in drawing up an army is the crowning feature in the art of war. For by changing his order of battle a little and adapting it to the present exigency, with no confusion and no trouble he evaded the difficulty, and charging upon the enemy put them to utter rout. Then, observing that they were not fleeing towards the city, but scattering themselves hither and thither through the region (which was woody, entirely surrounded by hills, and impracticable for cavalry owing to water-courses and ravines), he checked his pursuit and encamped while it was still light. But judging that the enemy after their flight would steal back to the city by ones and twos under cover of the night, he placed large numbers of his Achaeans armed with swords in ambush among the water-courses and hills about the city. Here very many of the followers of Nabis met their death; for since they did not make

ἀθρόαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάστοις αἱ φυγαὶ συνετύγχανον, ὥσπερ ὄρνιθες ἡλίσκοντο περὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων χεῖρας καταίροντες.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγαπώμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ἐκπρεπῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις φιλότιμον ὄντα τὸν Τίτον ἡσυχῇ παρελύπει. καὶ γὰρ ὡς Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος ἠξίου θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ὑπερβάλλειν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγεῖτο, δι' ἑνὸς κηρύγματος ἐλευθερώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅση Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐδούλευσεν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταλύεται μὲν ὁ Τίτος τῷ Νάβιδι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀποθνήσκει δὲ ὁ Νάβις ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν δολοφονηθείς. τεταραγμένης δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἁρπάσας τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιπίπτει μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀκόντων, τοὺς δὲ συμπείσας προσηγάγετο καὶ μετεκόμισεν εἰς
3 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν πόλιν. οὗ γενομένου θαυμαστῶς μὲν εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, προσκτησάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀξίωμα πόλεως τηλικαύτης καὶ δύναμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν μικρὸν Ἀχαΐας μέρος γενέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην), ἀνέλαβε δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἀρίστους, φύλακα τῆς ἐλευθερίας
4 ἐκεῖνον ἐλπίσαντας ἕξειν. διὸ καὶ τὴν Νάβιδος οἰκίαν καὶ οὐσίαν ἐξαργυρισθεῖσαν καὶ γενομένην

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[1] Cf. the *Flamininus*, chapter x.
[2] Cf. the *Flamininus*, ix. 5.

their return in a body, but as the chances of flight disposed them severally, they fell into the hands of their enemies and were caught like birds about the city.

XV. In consequence of this exploit Philopoemen was beloved by the Greeks and conspicuously honoured by them in their theatres, thus giving secret umbrage to Titus Flamininus, who was an ambitious man. For as Roman consul he thought himself more worthy of the Achaeans' admiration than a man of Arcadia, and he considered that his benefactions far exceeded those of Philopoemen, since by a single proclamation he had set free all those parts of Greece which had been subject to Philip and the Macedonians.[1]

After this Flamininus made peace with Nabis,[2] and Nabis was treacherously put to death by the Aetolians.[3] Sparta was therefore in a state of confusion, and Philopoemen, seizing his opportunity, fell upon the city with an armed force, and partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, brought it over to his purposes and made it a member of the Achaean league. This achievement brought him an amazing repute among the Achaeans, since through his efforts they had acquired a city of so great dignity and power (and indeed it was no slight matter that Sparta had become a member of the Achaean league); moreover, Philopoemen carried with him the principal men among the Spartans, who hoped to have in him a guardian of their liberties. Therefore, after they had confiscated the house and property of Nabis and obtained thereby a

[3] In 192 B.C. Nabis had called in the Aetolians to help him against the Achaeans and Romans (Livy, xxxv. 35–37).

εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἐψηφίσαντο δωρεὰν αὐτῷ δοῦναι, πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμψαντες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ διεφάνη καθαρῶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ δοκῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὢν ἄριστος. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδρὶ τοι- 365
ούτῳ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ δωροδοκίας, ἀλλὰ δεδοικότες καὶ ἀναδυόμενοι προεβάλοντο τὸν ξένον αὐτοῦ
5 *Τιμόλαον. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Τιμόλαος, ὡς ἦλθεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν, ἑστιαθεὶς παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐγγύθεν οὐδαμῇ προσιτὸν οὐδὲ εὐάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων κατανοήσας, ἀπεσιώπησε περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἑτέραν δέ τινα πρόφασιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενος ᾤχετο ἀπιών. καὶ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου*
6 *πεμφθεὶς ταὐτὸν ἔπαθε. τρίτῃ δὲ ὁδῷ μόλις ἐντυχὼν ἐδήλωσε τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἡδέως ἀκούσας ἧκεν αὐτὸς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς μὴ τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς δεκάζειν, ὧν προῖκα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔξεστιν ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταστασιάζοντας ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ διαφθείρειν, ἵνα τῷ λαβεῖν ἐπιστομισθέντες ἧττον ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς· βέλτιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν παραιρεῖσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν*

[1] See the *Aristides*, iii. 4.

hundred and twenty talents, they voted to make a present of the money to Philopoemen, and to send an embassy to Megalopolis on the matter. Here, indeed, it became perfectly clear that Philopoemen not only seemed to be, but actually was, a most excellent man.[1] For, to begin with, no Spartan was willing to confer with a man of his character about the acceptance of a gift, but they were all so reluctant and afraid to do it that they entrusted the business to a guest-friend of his, Timolaüs. And in the second place, Timolaüs himself, when he came to Megalopolis, having been entertained at the house of Philopoemen, and having learned thoroughly how dignified he was in his converse with others, how simple his ways of living, and how his character was nowhere to be approached and much less easy to be overcome by bribes, held his peace about the gift of money, and after giving some other excuse for his visit to him, went back home. And when he was sent a second time on the same errand, he did as before. On his third visit, however, he at last got so far as to acquaint Philopoemen with the earnest desire of his city. Then Philopoemen, who was pleased by what he heard, went in person to Sparta, and counselled the people there not to try to bribe good men who were their friends, and by whose virtues they could profit without payment of money, but rather to buy up and corrupt the bad men who were ruining the city by their factious conduct in the assembly, to the end that such might have their mouths stopped in consequence of their venality, and so be less annoying to their fellow-citizens; for it was better, he said, to take away freedom of speech from their enemies rather than

ἢ τῶν φίλων. οὕτως μὲν ἦν πρὸς χρήματα λαμπρός.

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νεωτερίζειν ἀκούσας ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Διοφάνης ἐβούλετο κολάζειν, οἱ δὲ εἰς πόλεμον καθιστάμενοι διετάρασσον τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐπειρᾶτο πραΰνειν καὶ καταπαύειν τὸν Διοφάνη τῆς ὀργῆς ὁ Φιλοποίμην, διδάσκων τὸν καιρόν, ὡς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τηλικούτοις αἰωρουμένων στρατοπέδοις ἐκεῖσε χρὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ οἰκεῖα μὴ κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παριδεῖν τι καὶ παρα-
2 κοῦσαι τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων. οὐ προσέχοντος δὲ τοῦ Διοφάνους, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλόντος ἅμα τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ βαδιζόντων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ἔργον οὐ νόμιμον, οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένον ἐκ τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλὰ μέγα καὶ μεγάλῳ φρονήματι τολμήσας, εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα παρῆλθε καὶ τόν τε στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸν ὕπατον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰδιώτης ὢν ἀπέκλεισε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς ἔπαυσε καὶ κατέστησε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦσαν.

3 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐγκαλέσας τι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατηγῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην τὰς μὲν φυγὰς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς Πολύβιός φησιν, ὡς δὲ

[1] Philopoemen was for the sixth time general in 188 B.C.

from their friends. Such was his splendid spirit in matters of money.

XVI. Soon, however, Diophanes, the general of the Achaean league, hearing that the Lacedaemonians were once more agitating for a change, determined to punish them, and the Lacedaemonians, determining upon war, were throwing the Peloponnesus into confusion. Here Philopoemen tried to mollify Diophanes and put a stop to his wrath, showing him what the occasion demanded, and that since King Antiochus and the Romans were hovering about in Greece with armies so great, it behoved the general of the league to pay attention to them, and not to stir up domestic troubles, but even to be somewhat oblivious to the transgressions of his colleagues. Diophanes, however, paid no heed to this advice, but invaded Laconia along with Titus Flamininus, and marched directly upon the city of Sparta. Incensed at this, Philopoemen ventured upon an act which was not lawful, nor even exactly just, but great and prompted by a great spirit. He went on past them into Sparta, and, private man though he was, shut out therefrom both the general of the Achaean league and the Roman consul, put an end to the disorders in the city, and brought the Lacedaemonians back again into the league, as they were at the outset.

At a later time, however, when he had some ground for accusation against the Lacedaemonians, as general of the league[1] Philopoemen brought back its exiles to the city, and put to death eighty Spartans, according to Polybius,[2] or according to

[2] In a passage not extant. Livy gives the same number (xxxviii. 33).

4 Ἀριστοκράτης, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους. τὰ δὲ τείχη καθεῖλε, χώραν δὲ πολλὴν ἀποτεμόμενος προσένειμε τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἀποδεδειγμένοι πολῖται τῆς Σπάρτης, μετῴκιζεν ἅπαντας ἀπάγων εἰς Ἀχαΐαν πλὴν τρισχιλίων· τούτους δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας καὶ μὴ βουλομένους ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐπώλησεν, εἶθ' οἷον ἐφυβρίζων ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει στοὰν ᾠκοδόμησεν.
5 ἐμπιπλάμενος δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν πεπραχόσιν ἐπεμβαίνων, τὸ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔργον ὠμότατον ἐξειργάσατο καὶ παρανομώτατον. ἀνεῖλε γὰρ καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν Λυκούργειον ἀγωγήν, ἀναγκάσας τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους τὴν Ἀχαϊκὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου παιδείαν μεταβαλεῖν, ὡς οὐδέποτε μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις φρονήσοντας.

6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν μεγάλων ὥσπερ νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκτεμεῖν τῷ Φιλοποίμενι παρασχόντες, ἐγένοντο χειροήθεις καὶ ταπεινοί, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν Ἀχαϊκὴν ἔφυγον πολιτείαν, ἀνέλαβον δὲ καὶ κατεστήσαντο τὴν πάτριον, ὡς ἦν ἀνυστὸν ἐκ κακῶν καὶ φθορᾶς τηλικαύτης.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἐν 366
τῇ Ἑλλάδι συνέστη πόλεμος, ἦν μὲν ἰδιώτης ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον αὐτὸν ἐν Χαλκίδι καθήμενον περὶ γάμους καὶ παρθένων

[1] In 184 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 34).

Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He also tore down the walls of the city, and cutting off a large part of its territory, annexed it to Megalopolis; moreover, in the case of those who had been made citizens of Sparta by the tyrants, he removed them all into Achaia, with the exception of three thousand who would not obey him and were unwilling to go away from Sparta. These he sold into slavery, and then, as if in mockery of their fate, erected a portico in Megalopolis with the money which they brought. And now, glutting his anger at the Lacedaemonians and unworthily trampling upon them in their misery, he treated their constitution in the most cruel and most lawless fashion. For he took away and abolished the system of training which Lycurgus had instituted, and compelled their boys and their young men to adopt the Achaean in place of their hereditary discipline, being convinced that while they were under the laws of Lycurgus they would never be humble.

For the time being, then, owing to their great calamities, the Spartans suffered Philopoemen to cut away, as it were, the sinews of their city, and became tractable and submissive; but a while afterwards,[1] having obtained permission from the Romans, they abandoned the Achaean polity, and resumed and re-established that which had come down from their fathers, so far as was possible after their many misfortunes and great degeneration.

XVII. When the Romans went to war with Antiochus in Greece,[2] Philopoemen was without command, and seeing that Antiochus himself was sitting idly down in Chalcis and spending his time

[2] In 191 B.C. Cf. the *Flamininus*, xv.

ἔρωτας οὐ καθ' ὥραν σχολάζοντα, τοὺς δὲ Σύρους ἐν ἀταξίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἡγεμόνων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πλαζομένους καὶ τρυφῶντας, ἤχθετο μὴ στρατηγῶν τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔλεγε φθονεῖν τῆς νικῆς. "Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν," ἔφη, "στρατηγῶν ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις κατέκοψα τούτους
2 πάντας." ἐπεὶ δὲ νικήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐνεφύοντο τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μᾶλλον ἤδη, καὶ περιεβάλλοντο τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑποκατακλινομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἡ δ' ἰσχὺς ἐπὶ πάντα πολλὴ μετὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐγγὺς ἦν εἰς ὃ τὴν τύχην ἔδει περιφερομένην ἐξικέσθαι, καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης πρὸς κῦμα διερειδόμενος ὁ Φιλοποίμην τὰ μὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ παρείκειν ἠναγκάζετο τοῖς καιροῖς, περὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων διαφερόμενος τοὺς τῷ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἰσχύοντας ἀντισπᾶν ἐπειρᾶτο πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

3 Ἀρισταίνου δὲ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου δυναμένου μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς μέγιστον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀεὶ θεραπεύοντος καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ οἰομένου δεῖν ἐναντιοῦσθαι μηδὲ ἀχαριστεῖν ἐκείνοις, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λέγεται τὸν Φιλοποίμενα σιωπᾶν ἀκούοντα καὶ βαρέως φέρειν, τέλος δὲ ὑπ' ὀργῆς δυσανασχετοῦντα πρὸς τὸν Ἀρίσταινον εἰπεῖν· "Ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τί σπεύδεις τὴν πεπρωμένην τῆς
4 Ἑλλάδος ἐπιδεῖν;" Μανίου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτου νενικηκότος μὲν Ἀντίοχον, αἰτουμένου δὲ

in a courtship and marriage which were not suited to his years,[1] while his Syrian troops, in great disorder and without leaders, were wandering about among the cities and living luxuriously, he was distressed because he was not general of the Achaeans at that time, and kept saying that he begrudged the Romans their victory. "For if I had been general," he said, "I would have cut off all these fellows in their taverns." But soon the Romans, after conquering Antiochus, applied themselves more closely to the affairs of Greece. They encompassed the Achaean league with their power, since the popular leaders gradually inclined to their support; their strength, under the guidance of the heavenly powers, grew great in all directions; and the consummation was near to which the fortunes of Greece must come in their allotted revolution. Here Philopoemen, like a good helmsman contending against a high sea, was in some points compelled to give in and yield to the times; but in most he continued his opposition, and tried to draw to the support of freedom the men who were powerful in speech or action.

Aristaenus the Megalopolitan[2] was a man of the greatest influence among the Achaeans, but he always paid court to the Romans and thought that the Achaeans ought not to oppose or displease them in any way. As this man was once speaking in the assembly, we are told that Philopoemen listened to him a while in silent indignation, but at last, overcome by anger, said to him: "My man, why art thou eager to behold the fated end of Greece?" Again, Manius, the Roman consul, after his victory

[1] Cf. the *Flamininus*, xvi. i. [2] Cf. chapter xiii. 4.

παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὅπως ἐάσωσι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων φυγάδας κατελθεῖν, καὶ Τίτου ταὐτὸ τῷ Μανίῳ περὶ τῶν φυγάδων ἀξιοῦντος, διεκώλυσεν ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ τοῖς φυγάσι πολεμῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος δι' αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ Τίτου μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων χάριτι τοῦτο πραχθῆναι· καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰς τοὐπιὸν αὐτὸς κατήγαγε τοὺς φυγάδας. οὕτως εἶχέ τι πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ φρονήματος δύσερι καὶ φιλόνεικον.

XVIII. Ἤδη δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστόν, ὄγδοον δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῶν, ἤλπιζεν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέμως διάξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡσυχίας καταβιῶναι τὰ πράγματα παρέξειν. ὡς γὰρ αἱ νόσοι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμαις συναπομαραίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσιν ἐπι-
2 λειπούσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἔληγε τὸ φιλόνεικον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Νέμεσίς τις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν εὐδρομοῦντα πρὸς τέρμασι τοῦ βίου κατέβαλε. λέγεται γὰρ ἔν τινι συλλόγῳ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαινούντων ἄνδρα δεινὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα περὶ στρατηγίαν εἰπεῖν τὸν Φιλοποίμενα, "Καὶ πῶς ἄξιον ἐκείνου λόγον ἔχειν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅστις ἥλω ζῶν ὑπὸ τῶν
3 πολεμίων;" μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος, ἄνθρωπος ἰδίᾳ τε τῷ Φιλοποίμενι προσκεκρουκὼς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαχθὴς διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν, τήν τε Μεσσήνην ἀπέ-

[1] Cf. chapter xiii. 3.

over Antiochus, asked the Achaeans to permit the exiles from Sparta to go back home, and Titus Flamininus joined Manius in making this request. But Philopoemen successfully opposed the request, not out of hostility to the exiles, but from a desire that they should owe this favour to himself and the Achaeans, and not to Flamininus and the Romans; indeed, as general for the following year he restored the exiles to their city.[1] To such a degree did his lofty spirit lead him to strive and contend against men in power.

XVIII. But being now seventy years of age, and for the eighth time general of the Achaeans,[2] he hoped not only to pass that year of office without war, but also that affairs would permit him to spend the rest of his life in peace and quiet. For as our diseases seem to lose their virulence as our bodily strength declines, so among the Greek cities the spirit of contention lapsed as their power waned. Nevertheless, some divine displeasure threw him down, like an all but victorious runner, at the very goal of his life. For it is recorded that at some conference, when others present were lavishing praise upon one who was reputed to be a redoubtable general, Philopoemen contemptuously said: "Yet why should any account be made of this man, who has been taken alive by his enemies?" And a few days afterwards Deinocrates the Messenian, a man who had a private quarrel with Philopoemen[3] and was obnoxious to everybody else because of his baseness and unbridled life, induced Messene to

[2] In 182 B.C. Plutarch passes over the years 187–183, during which the Achaean league and Philopoemen came increasingly into collision with the Roman power.

[3] Cf. the *Flamininus*, xvii. 3.

στησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ κώμην τὴν καλουμένην
Κολωνίδα προσηγγέλθη μέλλων καταλαμβάνειν.
ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν Ἄργει πυρέσσων,
πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα συνέτεινεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν
ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ σταδίους πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους.
4 κἀκεῖθεν εὐθὺς ἐβοήθει τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβών,
οἵπερ ἦσαν ἐνδοξότατοι μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, νέοι δὲ
κομιδῇ, δι' εὔνοιαν τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος καὶ ζῆλον
ἐθελονταὶ συστρατεύοντες. ἱππασάμενοι δὲ πρὸς
τὴν Μεσσήνην καὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐάνδρου λόφον
5 ἀπαντῶντι τῷ Δεινοκράτει συμπεσόντες ἐκεῖνον 367
μὲν ἐτρέψαντο, τῶν δὲ πεντακοσίων, οἳ τὴν χώραν
τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεφύλαττον, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφερο-
μένων καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἡττημένων, ὡς τούτους
κατεῖδον, αὖθις ἀνὰ τοὺς λόφους ἀθροιζομένων,
δείσας ὁ Φιλοποίμην κυκλωθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
φειδόμενος ἀνεχώρει διὰ τόπων χαλεπῶν, αὐτὸς
οὐραγῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀντεξελαύνων τοῖς πολε-
μίοις καὶ ὅλως ἐπισπώμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, οὐ
τολμώντων ἀντεμβαλεῖν ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ κραυγαῖς
6 καὶ περιδρομαῖς χρωμένων ἄποθεν. ἀφιστάμενος
οὖν πολλάκις διὰ τοὺς νεανίσκους καὶ καθ' ἕνα
παραπέμπων ἔλαθεν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπομονωθεὶς
πολεμίοις. καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας οὐδεὶς
ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῷ, πόρρωθεν δὲ βαλλόμενος καὶ
βιαζόμενος πρὸς χωρία πετρώδη καὶ παράκρημνα
χαλεπῶς μετεχειρίζετο καὶ κατέξαινε τὸν ἵππον.
7 αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν γῆρας ὑπὸ ἀσκήσεως πολλῆς
ἐλαφρὸν ἦν καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον εἰς τὸ

revolt from the Achaean league, and was reported about to seize the village called Colonis. Philopoemen at the time lay sick of a fever at Argos, but on learning these facts, he hastened to Megalopolis in a single day, a journey of more than four hundred furlongs. From there he at once set out for the rescue, taking with him the horsemen. These were the city's most prominent men, but altogether young, and serving as volunteers under Philopoemen out of good will and admiration for him. They rode off towards Messene and encountered Deinocrates, who came to meet them at Evander's hill. Him they put to flight; but the five hundred men who were guarding the open country of Messene suddenly attacked them, and when those who had before been worsted saw this, they collected together along the hills. Then Philopoemen, fearing that he would be enveloped, and trying to spare his horsemen, withdrew over difficult ground, bringing up the rear himself and frequently riding out against the enemy, and trying to draw their attacks entirely upon himself. They did not venture, however, to return his attacks, but merely shouted and threatened his flanks. Withdrawing from the line frequently, then, to spare his young men, and sending them one by one into safety, before he was aware of it he was left alone among numerous enemies. Even then no one ventured to come to close quarters with him, but he was pelted with missiles from a distance and forced upon rocky and precipitous places, so that he had difficulty in managing his horse and kept tearing him with the spur. His age, owing to his generous exercise, was not burdensome, and in no way impeded his escape; but at that time his body

σωθῆναι, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεοῦς γεγονότος καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν κατακόπου, βαρὺν ὄντα καὶ δυσκίνητον ἤδη σφαλεὶς ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέβαλε. σκληροῦ δὲ τοῦ πτώματος γενομένου καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς παθούσης ἔκειτο πολὺν χρόνον ἄναυδος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τεθνάναι δόξαντας αὐτὸν ἐπιχει-
8 ρεῖν στρέφειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ σκυλεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας διέβλεψεν, ἀθρόοι περιπεσόντες ἀπέστρεφον αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ὀπίσω καὶ δήσαντες ἦγον, ὕβρει χρώμενοι πολλῇ καὶ λοιδορίᾳ κατ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ ὄναρ ἄν ποτε παθεῖν ὑπὸ Δεινοκράτους ταῦτα προσδοκήσαντος.

XIX. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ μὲν ἀγγελίᾳ θαυμαστῶς ἐπαρθέντες ἠθροίζοντο περὶ τὰς πύλας· ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἑλκόμενον τὸν Φιλοποίμενα παρ' ἀξίαν τῆς τε δόξης καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἔργων καὶ τροπαίων, ἠλέησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ συνήλγησαν, ὥστε καὶ δακρῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐκφλαυρίσαι δύναμιν ὡς ἄπιστον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν οὖσαν.
2 οὕτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς πολλοὺς φιλάνθρωπος ἐχώρει λόγος ὡς μνημονευτέον εἴη τῶν πρόσθεν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἣν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Νάβιν ἐξελάσας τὸν τύραννον. ὀλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν οἳ τῷ Δεινοκράτει χαριζόμενοι στρεβλοῦν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κτείνειν ἐκέλευον ὡς βαρὺν πολέμιον καὶ δυσμείλικτον, αὐτῷ τε Δεινοκράτει φοβερώτερον εἰ διαφύγοι καθυβρισμένος ὑπ'
3 αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονὼς αἰχμάλωτος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κομίσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Θησαυρόν, οἴκημα κατάγειον οὔτε πνεῦμα λαμβάνον οὔτε φῶς ἔξωθεν οὔτε θύρας ἔχον, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ λίθῳ

was enfeebled by sickness and worn out with a long journey, so that he was heavy and stiff, and at length his horse stumbled and threw him to the ground. His fall was a heavy one and his head was hurt, and he lay for a long time speechless, so that his enemies thought him dead and tried to turn his body over and strip it of its armour. But when he raised his head and opened his eyes, they threw themselves in a throng upon him, tied his hands behind his back, and led him away, treating with great insolence and contumely a man who could never have even dreamed that he would suffer such a fate at the hands of Deinocrates.

XIX. The people of Messene, wonderfully elated at the news, gathered in throngs at the gates. But when they saw Philopoemen dragged along in a manner unworthy of his fame and of his former exploits and trophies, most of them were struck with pity and felt sympathy for him, so that they actually shed tears and spoke with bitterness of the inconstancy and vanity of human greatness. And so, little by little, many were led to say humanely that they ought to remember his former benefactions, and especially how he had restored to them their freedom by expelling the tyrant Nabis. But there were a few who, to gratify Deinocrates, urged that the captive should be tortured and put to death as a stern and implacable enemy, and one more than ever to be feared by Deinocrates himself in case he made his escape after having been taken prisoner and loaded with insults by him. However, they carried Philopoemen into the Thesaurus, as it was called, a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door,

περιαγομένῳ κατακλειόμενον, ἐνταῦθα κατέθεντο,
καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπιρράξαντες ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους
κύκλῳ περιέστησαν.
4 Οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναλα-
βόντες αὑτούς, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ἦν ὁ Φιλο-
ποίμην, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει τεθνάναι, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον
ἐπέστησαν ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ διδόντες
ἀλλήλοις λόγον ὡς αἰσχρὰν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἄδικον
σώζονται προέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν στρατηγὸν
5 ἀφειδήσαντα τοῦ ζῆν δι' αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προϊόντες
ἅμα καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντες ἐπύθοντο τὴν σύλλη-
ψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήγγελλον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν. οἱ δὲ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι μεγάλην
ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῶν
Μεσσηνίων πρεσβείαν πέμψαντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρε-
σκευάζοντο στρατεύειν.

XX. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἔπραττον. Ὁ δὲ
Δεινοκράτης μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον ὡς σωτήριον τῷ
Φιλοποίμενι δεδοικὼς καὶ φθάσαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ νὺξ ἐπῆλθε καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησε τῶν Μεσσηνίων, ἀνοίξας τὸ
δεσμωτήριον εἰσέπεμψε δημόσιον οἰκέτην φάρμα-
κον κομίζοντα, προσενεγκεῖν καὶ παραστῆναι 368
2 μέχρι ἂν ἐκπίῃ κελεύσας. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ
χλαμυδίῳ κατακείμενος, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ λύπῃ
καὶ θορύβῳ κατεχόμενος, ἰδὼν δὲ φῶς καὶ παρε-
στῶτα πλησίον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα τὴν κύλικα
τοῦ φαρμάκου, συναγαγὼν μόλις ἑαυτὸν ὑπ'
ἀσθενείας ἀνεκάθιζε. καὶ δεξάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἴ

but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about.

Meanwhile the horsemen of the Achaeans recovered themselves after their flight, and when Philopoemen was nowhere to be seen, but was thought to be dead, they stood for a long time calling aloud upon their leader and reproaching one another for having won an unlawful and shameful safety by abandoning to the enemy their general, who had been prodigal of his life for their sakes. Then they went forward in a body, and by diligent effort learned of his capture, and sent word of it to the cities of the Achaeans. The Achaeans felt that they had suffered a great calamity, and determined to send an embassy and demand Philopoemen from the Messenians, while they themselves prepared an expedition against the city.

XX. The Achaeans, then, were thus engaged. But Deinocrates, who feared that delay was the one thing most likely to save Philopoemen, and wished to forestall the efforts of the Achaeans, when night came on and the multitude of Messene had dispersed, opened the prison and sent in a public official with poison, ordering him to give it to Philopoemen and to stand by his side until he had drunk it. Now, Philopoemen was lying down wrapped in his soldier's cloak, not sleeping, but overwhelmed with trouble and grief. When, however, he saw a light and a man standing by him holding the cup of poison, he pulled himself together as much as his weakness permitted and sat up. Then taking the cup he asked the man if he had heard anything

τι περὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ μάλιστα Λυκόρτα πεπυ-
3 σμένος ἐστίν. εἰπόντος δὲ τἀνθρώπου διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολλούς, ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ διαβλέψας πρᾴως πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "Εὖ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ πάντα κακῶς πεπράχαμεν." ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν εἰπὼν μηδὲ φθεγξάμενος ἐξέπιε καὶ πάλιν αὑτὸν ἀπέκλινεν, οὐ πολλὰ πράγματα τῷ φαρμάκῳ παρασχών, ἀλλ' ἀποσβεσθεὶς ταχὺ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

XXI. Ὡς οὖν ὁ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς λόγος ἧκεν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, τὰς μὲν πόλεις αὐτῶν κοινὴ κατήφεια καὶ πένθος εἶχεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μετὰ τῶν προβούλων συνελθόντες εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιήσαντο τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' ἑλόμενοι στρατηγὸν Λυκόρταν εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐνέβαλον καὶ κακῶς ἐποίουν τὴν χώραν, ἄχρι
2 οὗ συμφρονήσαντες ἐδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀχαιούς. καὶ Δεινοκράτης μὲν αὐτὸς αὑτὸν φθάσας διεχρήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοις μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἔδοξε Φιλοποίμενα δι' αὐτῶν[1] ἀπέθνησκον, ὅσοις δὲ καὶ βασανίσαι, τούτους ἐπ' αἰκίαις ἀπολουμένους συνελάμβανεν ὁ Λυκόρτας. τὸ δὲ σῶμα καύσαντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθέντες εἰς ὑδρίαν ἀνεζεύγνυσαν, οὐκ ἀτάκτως οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπινίκιον πομπήν τινα ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς
3 μίξαντες. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐστεφανωμένους ἰδεῖν, ἦν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ δακρύοντας, ἦν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δεσμίους ἀγομένους. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὑδρίαν ὑπὸ πλήθους ταινιῶν τε καὶ στεφάνων μόλις ὁρωμένην ἐκόμιζεν ὁ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παῖς

[1] δι' αὐτῶν Bekker and Blass have δι' αὑτῶν (*died by their own hands*), with Stephanus.

about the horsemen, and particularly about Lycortas, and on being told by him that the greater part of them had escaped, he nodded his head, and with a kindly look at the man said to him: "That is good news, if we have not wholly lost." Without another word and even without a sigh he drained the cup and laid himself down again. He did not give the poison much to do, but breathed his last speedily, so weak was he.

XXI. Accordingly, when the report of his death reached the Achaeans, their cities were filled with general dejection and grief, and the men of military age, together with the members of the council, assembled at Megalopolis. With no delay whatsoever they proceeded to take revenge. They chose Lycortas general, invaded Messenia, and ravaged the country, until the Messenians with one consent received them into their city. Deinocrates anticipated their vengeance by making away with himself, but all the others who had voted to put Philopoemen to death they slew, and as for those who would have had him tortured also, these Lycortas seized and held for a more excruciating death. Then they burned Philopoemen's body, collected his ashes in an urn, and set out for home, not in loose or promiscuous order, but with a blending of triumphal procession and funeral rites. For their heads were wreathed with garlands while their eyes were full of tears, and they led their foes along with them in chains. The urn itself, almost hidden from sight by a multitude of fillets and wreaths, was borne by Polybius, the son of the Achaean general, and about

Πολύβιος καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.
οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡπλισμένοι μὲν αὐτοί, τοῖς δ'
ἵπποις κεκοσμημένοις ἐπηκολούθουν, οὔτε, οἷον
ἐπὶ πένθει τοσούτῳ, κατηφεῖς οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ
4 γαυριῶντες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν διὰ μέσου πόλεων καὶ
κωμῶν ἀπαντῶντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ στρατείας
ἐπανιόντα δεξιούμενοι, τῆς ὑδρίας ἐφήπτοντο, καὶ
συμπροῆγον εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ὡς οὖν συνανε-
μίχθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ γυναικῶν
καὶ παίδων, ὀλοφυρμὸς ἤδη διὰ παντὸς ἐχώρει
τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιποθοῦσαν τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ βαρέως φέρουσαν, οἰομένην συναπο-
βεβλῃκέναι τὸ πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.
5 Ἐτάφη μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐνδόξως, καὶ περὶ τὸ
μνημεῖον οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων αἰχμάλωτοι κατελεύ-
σθησαν. οὐσῶν δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ,
μεγάλων δὲ τιμῶν, ἃς αἱ πόλεις ἐψηφίσαντο,
Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κόρινθον ἀτυχήμασι
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν ἁπάσας καὶ
διώκειν αὐτόν, ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὥσπερ ἔτι ζῶντα,
6 Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον καὶ κακόνουν γενέσθαι. λόγων
δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ Πολυβίου πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην
ἀντειπόντος οὔθ' ὁ Μόμμιος οὔτε οἱ πρέσβεις
ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου τιμὰς ἀφανίσαι, καίπερ
οὐκ ὀλίγα τοῖς περὶ Τίτον καὶ Μάνιον ἐναντιω-
θέντος, ἀλλὰ τῆς χρείας τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὸ

[1] In 146 B.C., at the close of Rome's war with the Achaean league.

him were the chief men of the Achaeans. The soldiers followed after, in full armour themselves, and with their horses decorated; they were neither dejected in view of their great affliction nor exultant over their victory. Moreover, the people from the cities and villages on the way came to meet them, as if receiving Philopoemen on his return from an expedition; they laid their hands upon his urn, and accompanied him to Megalopolis. And so when they had been joined by the old men and by the women and children, a lamentation at once spread through the entire army and into the city, which longed for the presence of Philopoemen and was grievously cast down at his death, feeling that with him it had lost its supremacy among the Achaeans.

He was buried, then, as was fitting, with conspicuous honours, and at his tomb the captive Messenians were stoned to death. Many statues of him were erected and many honours decreed him by the cities. All these a Roman, in the disastrous days of Greece following the fall of Corinth,[1] attempted to have removed, and he attacked the memory of Philopoemen himself, accusing him, as if still alive, of having been a malevolent enemy of the Romans. After the proposal had been discussed and Polybius had spoken in opposition to Philopoemen's detractor, neither Mummius nor the members of the commission[2] would consent that the honours paid to an illustrious man should be obliterated, although he had made no little opposition to Flamininus and Manius. These judges distinguished, as

[2] A commission of ten, appointed by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Greece. It was before this body that Philopoemen's memory was attacked and defended.

καλόν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς διώριζον, ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως τοῖς μὲν ὠφελοῦσι μισθὸν καὶ χάριν παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς τιμὴν ὀφείλεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀεὶ νομίζοντες.

Ταῦτα περὶ Φιλοποίμενος.

it would appear, between virtue and necessity, between honour and advantage. They rightly and fitly considered that benefactors ought always to receive reward and gratitude from their beneficiaries, and good men honour from the good.

So much concerning Philopoemen.

TITUS FLAMININUS

ΤΙΤΟΣ

I. Ὃν δὲ παραβάλλομεν αὐτῷ, Τίτος Κοΐντιος 369
Φλαμινῖνος, ἰδέαν μὲν ὁποῖος ἦν πάρεστι θεάσασθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ χαλκῆς εἰκόνος, ἣ κεῖται παρὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένη, τὸ δὲ ἦθος ὀξὺς λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς χάριν.
2 οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἐλαφρὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ κολάζειν καὶ οὐκ ἐπίμονος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς χάριτας τελεσιουργὸς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι διὰ παντὸς ὥσπερ εὐεργέταις εὔνους, καὶ πρόθυμος, ὡς κάλλιστα τῶν κτημάτων, τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιέπειν ἀεὶ καὶ σώζειν. φιλοτιμότατος δὲ καὶ φιλοδοξότατος ὢν ἐβούλετο τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγίστων πράξεων αὐτουργὸς εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις εὖ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι δυναμένοις ἔχαιρε, τοὺς μὲν ὕλην τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοὺς δὲ ὥσπερ ἀντιπάλους πρὸς δόξαν ἡγούμενος.

3 Παιδευθεὶς δὲ παιδείαν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, πολλοὺς τότε καὶ μεγάλους τῆς

TITUS FLAMININUS

I. In parallel with Philopoemen we shall put Titus Quintius Flamininus. What his outward appearance was may be seen by those who wish it from the bronze statue of him at Rome. It stands by the side of the great Apollo from Carthage, opposite the Circus,[1] and has upon it an inscription in Greek characters. As to his disposition, he is said to have been quick to show anger as well as to confer favours, though not in like extent. For he was gentle in his punishments and not persistent, whereas in his favours he was unremitting, always well disposed towards his beneficiaries as though they were his benefactors, and eager to protect at all times and preserve those who had ever met with kindness at his hands, as though they were his choicest possessions. But since he was covetous of honour and fame, he desired that his noblest and greatest achievements should be the result of his own efforts, and he took more pleasure in those who wanted to receive kindness than in those who were able to bestow it, considering that the former were objects upon which he could exercise his virtue, while the latter were his rivals, so to speak, in the struggle for fame.

From his earliest years he was trained in the arts of war, since at that time Rome was carrying on

[1] The Circus Flamininus is meant, which was erected in 221 B.C. by the censor Flamininus Nepos.

Ῥώμης ἀγωνιζομένης ἀγῶνας καὶ τῶν νέων εὐθὺς
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ στρατεύεσθαι στρατηγεῖν διδασκο-
μένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν πολέμῳ
χιλίαρχος ὑπατεύοντι Μαρκέλλῳ συνεστρατεύ-
4 σατο. καὶ Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐνέδρᾳ περιπεσὼν
ἐτελεύτησε, Τίτος δὲ τῆς περὶ Τάραντα χώρας
καὶ Τάραντος αὐτοῦ τὸ δεύτερον ἡλωκότος ἔπαρχος
ἀποδειχθεὶς εὐδοκίμησεν οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαί-
οις ἢ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν. διὸ καὶ πεμπομένων
ἀποίκων εἰς δύο πόλεις, Νάρνειάν τε καὶ Κῶνσαν,
ἄρχων ᾑρέθη καὶ οἰκιστής.

II. Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπῆρε μάλιστα τὰς διὰ
μέσου καὶ συνήθεις τοῖς νέοις ἀρχὰς ὑπερβάντα,
δημαρχίαν καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ ἀγορανομίαν, εὐθὺς
αὑτὸν ὑπατείας ἀξιοῦν· καὶ κατῄει τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
κληρουχιῶν ἔχων προθύμους. τῶν δὲ περὶ
Φούλβιον καὶ Μάνιον δημάρχων ἐνισταμένων καὶ
δεινὸν εἶναι λεγόντων ἄνδρα νέον εἰς τὴν μεγίστην
ἀρχὴν εἰσβιάζεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἷον ἀτέ-
λεστον ἔτι τῶν πρώτων ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς
2 πολιτείας, ἡ μὲν σύγκλητος ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ
τὴν ψῆφον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὕπατον
μετὰ Σέξτου Αἰλίου, καίπερ οὔπω τριάκοντα ἔτη
γεγονότα. κλήρῳ δὲ λαγχάνει τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον
καὶ Μακεδόνας πόλεμον, εὐτυχίᾳ τινὶ τῶν Ῥωμαί-
ων συλλαχὼν πράγμασι καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐ πάντα
πολέμῳ καὶ βίᾳ χρωμένου δεομένοις ἄρχοντος,

many great contests and her young men from the very outset were taught by service as soldiers how to command soldiers. To begin with, then, he served as military tribune in the war against Hannibal under Marcellus the consul. Marcellus fell into an ambush and lost his life,[1] but Titus was appointed governor of the country about Tarentum and of Tarentum itself, now captured for the second time. Here he won a good name, no less for his administration of justice than for his conduct in the field. For this reason he was also chosen director-in-chief of the colonists sent out to the two cities of Narnia and Cosa.

II. This success more than anything else so exalted his ambition that he ignored the intervening offices which young men generally sought, the offices of tribune, praetor, and aedile, and thought himself worthy at once of a consulship; so he became a candidate for that office, with the eager support of his colonists. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manius opposed his course, and said that it was a monstrous thing for a young man to force his way into the highest office contrary to the laws, before he had been initiated, as it were, into the first rites and mysteries of government. The senate, however, referred the matter to the votes of the people, and the people elected him consul[2] along with Sextus Aelius, although he was not yet thirty years old. The lot assigned him to the war with Philip and the Macedonians, and it was a marvellous piece of good fortune for the Romans that he was thus designated for a field of activity where the people did not require a leader relying entirely upon war and

[1] In 208 B.C. Cf. the *Marcellus*, xxviii. f.   [2] In 198 B.C.

ἀλλὰ πειθοῖ καὶ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον ἁλωσίμοις.
3 Φιλίππῳ γὰρ ἦν στόμωμα μὲν εἰς μάχην ἀποχρῶν ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀρχή, ῥώμη δὲ πολέμου τριβὴν ἔχοντος καὶ χορηγία καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ ὄργανον ὅλως τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύναμις, ὧν μὴ διαλυθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου μιᾶς μάχης οὐκ ἦν ἔργον ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμος.
4 ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς οὔπω πολλὰ συνενηνεγμένη Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον ἐπιμιγνυμένη ταῖς πράξεσιν, εἰ μὴ φύσει τε χρηστὸς ἦν ὁ ἄρχων καὶ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ἐντυγχάνοντί τε 370
προσῆν πιθανότης καὶ πρᾳότης ἐντυγχανομένῳ καὶ τόνος πλεῖστος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ῥᾳδίως ἀντὶ τῶν συνήθων ἀλλόφυλον ἀρχὴν ἠγάπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ δηλοῦται.

III. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγούς, τοῦτο μὲν Σουλπίκιον, τοῦτο δὲ Πόπλιον, ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας ἐμβαλόντας εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου βραδέως ἁψαμένους κατατετρῖφθαι τοπομαχοῦντας καὶ διαπληκτιζομένους ἀκροβολισμοῖς ὑπὲρ ὁδῶν καὶ σιτολογίας
2 πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι καταναλώσαντες οἴκοι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τιμαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ὕστερον ἐξώρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπικερδᾶναι τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὸν μὲν ὑπατεύσας, τῷ δὲ πολεμήσας, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ

violence, but were rather to be won over by persuasion and friendly intercourse. For the realm of Macedonia afforded Philip a sufficiently strong force for actual battle, but in a war of long duration his phalanx was dependent for its vigour, its support, its places of refuge, and in a word for its entire effectiveness, upon the states of Greece, and unless these were detached from Philip, the war with him would not be a matter of a single battle. Greece, however, had not yet been brought into much contact with the Romans, and now for the first time was drawn into political relations with them. Unless, therefore, the Roman commander had been a man of native goodness who relied upon argument more than upon war, and unless he had been persuasive when he asked an audience and kind when he granted one, ever laying the greatest stress upon what was right and just, Greece would not so easily have been satisfied with a foreign supremacy instead of those to which she had been accustomed. However, this will be made clear in the story of his achievements.

III. Titus learned that the generals who had preceded him in this field, first Sulpicius, and then Publius Villius, had invaded Macedonia late in the season, had prosecuted the war slowly, and had wasted time in manœuvring for position or in long range skirmishes with Philip to secure roads and provisions. These men had squandered the year of their consulship at home in the honours and political activities of their office, and afterwards had set out on their campaigns. But Titus did not think it right to imitate them and thus add a year to his term of office, acting as magistrate during one, and

φιλοτιμούμενος ἐνεργὸν τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ προ-
3 εδρίας ἀφῆκεν, αἰτησάμενος δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ Λεύκιον ἄρχοντα νεῶν συστρατεύειν, καὶ τῶν μετὰ Σκηπίωνος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ μὲν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐν Λιβύῃ δὲ Ἀννίβαν αὐτὸν καταμεμαχημένων τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ἔτι καὶ προθύμους ἀναλαβὼν ὥσπερ στόμωμα, τρισχιλίους γενομένους, εἰς τὴν Ἤπειρον ἀσφαλῶς διεπέρασε.
4 καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον εὑρὼν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντα τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἄψον ποταμὸν ἐμβολὰς καὶ τὰ στενὰ φυλάττοντι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ περαίνοντα διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν χωρίων, παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποπέμψας κατεσκέπτετο τοὺς τόπους. εἰσὶ δὲ ὀχυροὶ μὲν οὐχ ἧττον τῶν περὶ τὰ Τέμπη, κάλλη δὲ δένδρων, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ χλωρότητα ὕλης καὶ διατριβὰς καὶ
5 λειμῶνας ἡδεῖς οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὀρῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ ὑψηλῶν ἑκατέρωθεν εἰς μίαν φάραγγα μεγίστην καὶ βαθεῖαν συμφερομένων διεκπίπτων ὁ Ἄψος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τάχος ἐξομοιοῦται πρὸς τὸν Πηνειόν, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἀποκρύπτων ὑπώρειαν, ἐκτομὴν δὲ κρημνώδη καὶ στενὴν παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἀπολείπων ἀτραπόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ῥᾳδίαν στρατεύματι διελθεῖν, εἰ δὲ καὶ φυλάττοιτο, παντελῶς ἄπορον.

IV. Ἦσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὸν Τίτον ἄγειν κύκλῳ διὰ τῆς Δασσαρήτιδος κατὰ Λύκον εὔπορον

as general for a second. On the contrary, he was ambitious to prosecute the war at the same time that he served as consul, and therefore renounced his honours and special privileges in the city, and after asking the senate that his brother Lucius might accompany him on his expedition as naval commander, he took with him as the main part of his force those of Scipio's soldiers who were still in full vigour of body and spirit after conquering Hasdrubal in Spain and Hannibal himself in Africa (they were three thousand in number), and crossed safely into Epirus. He found Publius Villius encamped with his forces over against Philip, who for a long time now had been guarding the narrow passes along the river Apsus. Publius was making no progress, owing to the strength of his adversary's position, and Titus therefore took over his army, sent Publius home, and began an examination of the ground. It has no less natural strength than the Vale of Tempe, but is without the beautiful trees, green woods, agreeable haunts, and pleasant meadows which there abound. Great and lofty mountains on either side slope down and form a single very large and deep ravine, and through this the Apsus dashes with a volume and speed which make it the equal of the Peneius. Its water covers all the rest of the ground at the foot of the mountains, but leaves a cut, precipitous and narrow, for a path along past its current; this path would not be easy for an army to traverse at any time, and when guarded, it would be utterly impassable.

IV. There were some, therefore, who tried to have Titus lead his forces by a roundabout way through

ὁδὸν καὶ ῥᾳδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντες. ὁ δὲ δεδοικὼς μὴ
πόρρω θαλάττης ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τόπους
γλίσχρους καὶ σπειρομένους πονηρῶς τοῦ Φιλίπ-
που φυγομαχοῦντος ἀπορήσῃ σιτίων καὶ πάλιν
ἄπρακτος, ὥσπερ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, ἀνα-
χωρεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔγνω
προσβαλὼν ἀνὰ κράτος διὰ τῶν ἄκρων βιάσα-
2 σθαι τὴν πάροδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ὄρη τοῦ Φιλίππου
τῇ φάλαγγι κατέχοντος, ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων πανταχόθεν
χόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀκοντίων καὶ τοξευ-
μάτων φερομένων, πληγαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο καὶ
ἀγῶνες ὀξεῖς καὶ νεκροὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔπιπτον,
οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας ἐφαίνετο, προσῆλθον
ἄνθρωποι τῶν αὐτόθι νεμόντων φράζοντές τινα
κύκλωσιν ἀμελουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ᾗ τὸν
στρατὸν ἄξειν ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ καταστήσειν
3 μάλιστα τριταῖον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. γνώστην δὲ τῆς
πίστεως παρείχοντο καὶ βεβαιωτὴν Χάροπα τὸν
Μαχάτα, πρωτεύοντα μὲν Ἠπειρωτῶν, εὔνουν δὲ
Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα καὶ κρύφα φόβῳ τοῦ Φιλίππου
συναγωνιζόμενον. ᾧ πιστεύσας ὁ Τίτος ἐκπέμπει
χιλίαρχον ἕνα πεζοὺς ἔχοντα τετρακισχιλίους
καὶ ἱππεῖς τριακοσίους. ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἱ νομεῖς
ἐκεῖνοι δεδεμένοι· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἀνεπαύοντο
κοίλους προβαλλόμενοι καὶ ὑλώδεις τόπους,
ὥδευον δὲ νύκτωρ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην· καὶ γὰρ ἦν
διχόμηνος.
4 Ὁ δὲ Τίτος τούτους ἀποστείλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας 371
ἡμέρας διανέπαυε τὸν στρατὸν ὅσα μὴ περισπᾶν
τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθ' ἣν δὲ
ἔμελλον ὑπερφανήσεσθαι τῶν ἄκρων οἱ περιϊόντες,

Dassaretis towards Lycus, a safe and easy road. But he was afraid that if he went far away from the sea and got into regions that were poorly tilled and barren, while Philip avoided a battle, lack of provisions would compel him to come back again to the sea with his task undone, like the general who had preceded him. He therefore determined to attack with all his might, and force his passage through the heights. But Philip was occupying the mountains with his phalanx, and on the flanks of the Romans javelins and arrows came flying from all directions against them. Sharp encounters took place, men were wounded and men fell dead on both sides, and no end of the war was in sight. But at last some herdsmen of the vicinity came to Titus and told him of a roundabout path which the enemy was neglecting to guard; over this they promised to lead his army and bring it, in three days at the farthest, to a position on the heights. As surety and voucher for their good faith they brought Charops the son of Machatas, a leading man in Epirus, who was well-disposed to the Romans and was secretly co-operating with them through fear of Philip. In him Titus put confidence, and sent out a military tribune with four thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred horsemen. They were conducted by the herdsmen, who were in bonds. By day they rested under cover of caves or woody places, and they travelled in the night, by the light of the moon, which was at the full.

After sending off this detachment, Titus kept his army quiet for two days, except so far as he drew off the enemy's attention by skirmishes; but when the day came on which the enveloping party were expected to show themselves on the heights, at daybreak

ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πᾶν μὲν βαρύ, πᾶν δὲ γυμνητικὸν ὅπλον ἐκίνει· καὶ τριχῇ νείμας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ στενώτατον παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον ὀρθίας ἀνῆγε τὰς σπείρας βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι περὶ
5 τὰς δυσχωρίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑκατέρωθεν ἅμα πειρωμένων ἁμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ ταῖς τραχύτησιν ἐμφυομένων προθύμως, ὅ τε ἥλιος ἀνέσχε καὶ καπνὸς οὐ βέβαιος, ἀλλ' οἷον ὄρειος ὁμίχλη πόρρωθεν ἀνατέλλων καὶ διαφαινόμενος τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἐλάνθανε, κατὰ νώτου γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἤδη τῶν ἄκρων ἐχομένων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δόξαν ἔσχον ἀμφίβολον ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα
6 πρὸς τὸ βουλόμενον λαμβάνοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξανόμενος καὶ διαμελαίνων τὸν ἀέρα καὶ πολὺς ἄνω χωρῶν ἐδηλοῦτο πυρσὸς εἶναι φίλιος, οἱ μὲν ἀλαλάξαντες ἐπέβαινον ἐρρωμένως καὶ συνέστελλον εἰς τὰ τραχύτατα τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἀντηλάλαξαν.

V. Φυγὴ μὲν οὖν ἦν εὐθὺς ὀξεῖα πάντων, ἔπεσον δὲ δισχιλίων οὐ πλείους· ἀφῃροῦντο γὰρ αἱ δυσχωρίαι τὴν δίωξιν. χρήματα δὲ καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ θεράποντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαρπάσαντες ἐκράτουν τῶν στενῶν, καὶ διώδευον τὴν Ἤπειρον οὕτω κοσμίως καὶ μετ' ἐγκρατείας τοσαύτης ὥστε, τῶν πλοίων καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μακρὰν ὄντας αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν ἐπιμήνιον σῖτον μὴ μεμετρημένους οὐδ'

he put all his heavy-armed and all his light-armed troops in motion. Dividing his forces into three parts, he himself led his cohorts in column formation up into the narrowest part of the ravine along the stream, pelted with missiles by the Macedonians and engaging at close quarters with those who confronted him at each difficult spot; the other divisions, one on either side, strove to keep pace with him, and grappled eagerly with the difficulties presented by the rough ground. Meanwhile the sun rose, and a smoke—not clearly defined, but resembling a mountain mist—lifted itself and came into view from afar. The enemy did not notice it, for it was behind them, where the heights were already occupied, and the Romans were of doubtful mind about it, but as they struggled and laboured on, they let their wishes determine their hopes. But when the smoke increased in size and darkened the air, and ascending in great volume was clearly seen to be a fire-signal from their friends, then the Romans below raised shouts of triumph and dashed upon their foes and crowded them together into the roughest places, while the Romans behind the enemy sent down answering shouts from the heights.

V. At once, then, the enemy fled precipitately, but not more than two thousand of them fell;[1] for the difficulties of the ground made pursuit impossible. However, the Romans made spoil of their money, tents, and slaves, mastered the pass, and traversed all parts of Epirus, but in such an orderly manner and with so great restraint that, although they were far from their fleet and the sea, and although their monthly rations of grain had not been measured out

[1] So Livy, xxxii. 12.

εὐποροῦντας ἀγορᾶς, ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας ἀμ-
2 φιλαφεῖς ὠφελείας ἐχούσης. ὁ γὰρ Τίτος πυν-
θανόμενος τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς ὅμοια φεύγοντι τὴν
Θετταλίαν διερχόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ
τῶν πόλεων ἀνίστησιν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις
καταπίμπρησι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ λειπόμενα
διὰ πλῆθος ἢ βάρος ἁρπαγὴν προτίθεται, τρόπον
τινὰ τῆς χώρας ἐξιστάμενος ἤδη Ῥωμαίοις, ἐφι-
λοτιμεῖτο καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥσπερ
οἰκείας καὶ παρακεχωρημένης κηδομένους βαδί-
3 ζειν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ γινόμενα
τῆς εὐταξίας αἴσθησιν εὐθύς. προσεχώρουν μὲν
γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἁψαμένοις Θετταλίας, οἱ δ' ἐντὸς
Πυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐπόθουν καὶ διεπτόηντο ταῖς
ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὸν Τίτον, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου
συμμαχίαν ἀπειπάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο
4 μετὰ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὀπούντιοι δέ, καί-
περ Αἰτωλῶν τότε Ῥωμαίοις συναγωνιζομένων
προθυμότατα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀξιούντων παραλα-
βεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, οὐ προσέσχον, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμ-
ψάμενοι τὸν Τίτον ἐκείνῳ διεπίστευσαν ἑαυτοὺς
καὶ παρέδωκαν.

Πύρρον μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπὸ
σκοπῆς κατεῖδε τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων
διακεκοσμημένον, εἰπεῖν οὐ βαρβαρικὴν αὐτῷ
φανῆναι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων παράταξιν· οἱ δὲ
Τίτῳ πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνοντες ἠναγκάζοντο παρα-
5 πλησίας ἀφιέναι φωνάς. ἀκούοντες γὰρ τῶν
Μακεδόνων ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων βαρβάρου στρα-

to them and they could buy little, they nevertheless refrained from plundering the country, which offered abundant booty. For Titus had learned that Philip, in passing through Thessaly like a fugitive, was driving the inhabitants from their cities into the mountains, burning down the cities, and allowing his soldiers to plunder the wealth which was too abundant or too heavy to be carried away, thus in a manner ceding the country already to the Romans. Titus was therefore ambitious, and exhorted his soldiers accordingly to spare the country in marching through it, and to treat it as though it had been handed over to them and were their own. And indeed the results showed them at once the advantages of this orderly conduct. For as soon as they reached Thessaly the cities came over to them, the Greeks south of Thermopylae were all eagerness and excitement to find Titus, and the Achaeans, renouncing their alliance with Philip, voted to join the Romans in making war upon him. The Opuntians, moreover, although the Aetolians, who were at that time fighting most zealously on the side of the Romans, asked permission to take Opus in charge and protect the city, would not grant the request, but sent for Titus and gave themselves with the fullest confidence into his hands.

Now, we are told that Pyrrhus, when for the first time he beheld from a look-out place the army of the Romans in full array, had said that he saw nothing barbaric in the Barbarians' line of battle;[1] and so those who for the first time met Titus were compelled to speak in a similar strain. For they had heard the Macedonians say that a commander

[1] Cf. the *Pyrrhus*, xvi. 5.

τιᾶς ἔπεισι δι' ὅπλων πάντα καταστρεφόμενος καὶ δουλούμενος, εἶτα ἀπαντῶντες ἀνδρὶ τήν τε ἡλικίαν νέῳ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φιλανθρώπῳ, φωνήν τε καὶ διάλεκτον Ἕλληνι καὶ τιμῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐραστῇ, θαυμασίως ἐκηλοῦντο, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπιόντες ἐνεπίμπλασαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
6 ὡς ἐχούσας ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Φιλίππῳ δοκοῦντι συμβατικῶς ἔχειν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθὼν προὔτεινεν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς
Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἀπαλ- 372
λάττειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, παντάπασιν ἤδη τότε καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρέστη Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσοντας ἥκειν οὐχ Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων Μακεδόσι.

VI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα προσεχώρει καθ' ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ Βοιωτίαν ἀπολέμως ἐπιπορευομένῳ Θηβαίων ἀπήντησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, φρονοῦντες μὲν τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος διὰ Βραχύλλην, ἀσπαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν Τίτον, ὡς φιλίας πρὸς ἀμφο-
2 τέρους ὑπαρχούσης. ὁ δ' ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῖς φιλανθρώπως καὶ δεξιωσάμενος προῆγεν ἡσυχῇ καθ' ὁδόν, τὰ μὲν ἐρωτῶν καὶ πυνθανόμενος, τὰ δὲ διηγούμενος, καὶ παράγων ἐπίτηδες ἄχρι τοὺς
3 στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς πορείας. οὕτω δὲ προάγων συνεισῆλθε τοῖς Θηβαίοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἡδομένοις, ὀκνοῦσι δὲ κωλύειν, ἐπεὶ

of a barbarian host was coming against them, who subdued and enslaved everywhere by force of arms; and then, when they met a man who was young in years, humane in aspect, a Greek in voice and language, and a lover of genuine honour, they were wonderfully charmed, and when they returned to their cities they filled them with kindly feelings towards him and the belief that in him they had a champion of their liberties. After this Titus had a meeting with Philip (who seemed disposed to make terms), and proffered him peace and friendship on condition that he allowed the Greeks to be independent and withdraw his garrisons from their cities; but this proffer Philip would not accept. Then at last it became quite clear even to the partisans of Philip that the Romans were come to wage war, not upon the Greeks, but upon the Macedonians in behalf of the Greeks.

VI. Accordingly, the other parts of Greece came over to the side of Titus without any trouble; but as he was entering Boeotia without hostile demonstrations, the leading men of Thebes came to meet him. They were in sympathy with the Macedonian cause through the efforts of Brachyllas, but welcomed Titus and showed him honour, professing to be on friendly terms with both parties. Titus met and greeted them kindly, and then proceeded quietly on his journey, sometimes asking questions for his own information and sometimes discoursing at length, and purposely diverting them until his soldiers should come up from their march. Then he led them forward and entered the city along with the Thebans, who were not at all pleased thereat, but hesitated to oppose him, since a goodly number of

στρατιῶταί γε μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος εἵποντο. καὶ μέντοι παρελθὼν ὁ Τίτος, ὡς οὐκ ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειθεν ἑλέσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως συναγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνεξορμῶντος τοὺς Θηβαίους. ἀλλ' Ἄτταλος μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ γήρως προθυμότερον ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τίτῳ ῥήτορα παρασχεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν προσπεσόντος ἰλίγγου τινὸς ἢ ῥεύματος ἄφνω τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐπιληφθεὶς ἔπεσε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀποκομισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν· οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

VII. Φιλίππου δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καὶ ὁ Τίτος παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πράξοντας ὅπως ἐπιψηφίσηται ἡ σύγκλητος χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος, εἰ δὲ μή, δι' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ἰσχυρῶς ἐδεδίει πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
2 ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. διαπραξαμένων δὲ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν Φίλιππον ὧν ἔχρηζε τυχεῖν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ φυλαχθῆναι, δεξάμενος τὸ δόγμα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθεὶς εὐθὺς εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον ὥρμησεν, ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἔχων στρατιώτας, ὧν Αἰτωλοὶ πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακοσίους παρεῖχον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ στράτευμα τῷ πλήθει παραπλήσιον.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαδίζοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ γενόμενοι περὶ τὴν Σκοτοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν ἔμελ-

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[1] Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
[2] So Livy, xxxiii. 4.

soldiers were in his following. Titus, however, just as though the city were not in his power, came before their assembly and tried to persuade them to side with the Romans, and Attalus the king seconded him in his appeals and exhortations to the Thebans. But Attalus, as it would appear, in his eagerness to play the orator for Titus, went beyond his aged strength, and in the very midst of his speech, being seized with a vertigo or an apoplexy, suddenly fainted and fell, and shortly afterwards was conveyed by his fleet to Asia, where he died. The Boeotians allied themselves with the Romans.

VII. Philip now sent an embassy to Rome, and Titus therefore dispatched thither his own representatives, who were to induce the senate to vote him an extension of command in case the war continued, or, if it did not, the power to make peace. For he was covetous of honour, and was greatly afraid that he would be robbed of his glory if another general were sent to carry on the war. His friends managed matters so successfully for him that Philip failed to get what he wanted and the command in the war was continued to Titus. On receiving the decree of the senate, he was lifted up in his hopes and at once hastened into Thessaly to prosecute the war against Philip. He had over twenty-six thousand soldiers, of whom six thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry were furnished by the Aetolians.[1] Philip's army also was of about the same size.[2]

The two armies advanced against each other until they came into the neighbourhood of Scotussa, and there they proposed to decide the issue by battle.[3]

[3] On the same battlefield Pelopidas had been defeated and slain by Alexander of Pherae, in 364 B.C. Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxxii.

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[1] Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
[2] So Livy, xxxiii. 4.

soldiers were in the ... as though the city were ... their assembly and ... with the Romans and ... him in his appear and ... But Attalus, as ... play the orator for ... strength, and in the very ... seized with a vertigo or ... and fell, and shortly afterwards ... fleet to Asia, where ... themselves with the Romans.

VII. Philip now ... Titus therefore ... sentatives, who were ... him an extension of command ... tinued, or, if it did not, the ... For he was covetous of ... afraid that he would be ... general were sent to ... managed matters so ... failed to get what he wanted ... the war was continued ... decree of the senate ... and at once ... war against Philip. He ... soldiers, of whom ... hundred cavalry were ... Philip's army also was ...

The two armies ... they came into the ... there they prepared ...

[?] On the same ... slain by Alexander ... xxxii.

λον, οὐχ, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, πρὸς δέους ἔλαβον οἱ στρατοὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων γειτνίασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁρμῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπληροῦντο, Ῥωμαῖοι μέν, εἰ Μακεδόνων κρατήσουσιν, ὧν ὄνομα δι' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀλκῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πλεῖστον ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ῥωμαίους Περσῶν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν ἤλπιζον, εἰ περιγένοιντο, λαμπρότερον ἀποδείξειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Φίλιππον.
4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Τίτος παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι καὶ προθύμους, ὡς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ θεάτρῳ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μέλλοντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ σπουδῆς παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀγνοήσας, ἦν γάρ τι πολυάνδριον ὑψηλὸν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβὰς ἤρξατο μέν, οἷα πρὸ μάχης φιλεῖ, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ παρορμᾶν, ἀθυμίας δὲ δεινῆς πρὸς τὸν οἰωνὸν ἐμπεσούσης διαταραχθεὶς ἐπέσχε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

VIII. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον, ἐκ μαλακῆς καὶ νοτίου νυκτός, εἰς ὁμίχλην τῶν νεφῶν τρεπομένων, ἀνεπίμπλατο ζόφου βαθέος πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, καὶ κατῄει παχὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων ἀὴρ εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἀποκρύπτων τοὺς τόπους. οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποσταλέντες ἐφεδρείας ἕνεκα καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ περιπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κυνὸς κεφαλάς, αἳ λόφων οὖσαι πυκνῶν καὶ παραλλήλων

Their mutual proximity did not inspire them with fear, as might have been expected; on the contrary, they were filled with ardour and ambition. For the Romans hoped to conquer the Macedonians, whose reputation for prowess and strength Alexander had raised to a very high pitch among them; and the Macedonians, who considered the Romans superior to the Persians, hoped, in case they prevailed over them, to prove Philip a more brilliant commander than Alexander. Accordingly, Titus exhorted his soldiers to show themselves brave men and full of spirit, assured that they were going to contend against the bravest of antagonists in that fairest of all theatres, Greece; and Philip, too, began a speech of exhortation to his soldiers, as is the custom before a battle. But, either by chance or from ignorance due to an inopportune haste, he had ascended for this purpose a lofty mound outside his camp, beneath which many men lay buried in a common grave, and a dreadful dejection fell upon his listeners in view of the omen, so that he was deeply troubled and refrained from battle that day.

VIII. Towards morning on the following day, after a mild and damp night, the clouds turned to mist, the whole plain was filled with profound darkness, a dense air came down from the heights into the space between the two camps, and as soon as day advanced all the ground was hidden from view. The parties sent out on either side for purposes of ambush and reconnaissance encountered one another in a very short time and went to fighting near what are called the Cynoscephalae, or *Dog's Heads*. These are the sharp tops of hills lying close alongside one another,

ἄκραι λεπταὶ δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχήματος οὕτως 373
2 ὠνομάσθησαν. γενομένων δὲ οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν τόποις σκληροῖς μεταβολῶν κατὰ τὰς φυγὰς καὶ διώξεις, ἑκάτεροι τοῖς πονοῦσιν ἀεὶ καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπιπέμποντες βοήθειαν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνακαθαιρομένου καθορῶντες τὰ γινόμενα πανστρατιᾷ συνέβαλον.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν δεξιῷ περιῆν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐκ τόπων καταφερῶν ὅλην ἐπερείσας τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ βάρος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς προβολῆς τῶν σαρισῶν οὐχ ὑπο-
3 μεινάντων· τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου διασπασμὸν ἀνὰ τοὺς λόφους καὶ περίκλασιν λαμβάνοντος, ὁ Τίτος, τὸ μὲν ἡττώμενον ἀπογνούς, πρὸς δὲ θάτερον ὀξέως παρελάσας, προσέβαλε τοῖς Μακεδόσι συστῆναι μὲν εἰς φάλαγγα καὶ πυκνῶσαι τὴν τάξιν εἰς βάθος, ἧπερ ἦν ἀλκὴ τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως, κωλυομένοις διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν χωρίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι
4 βαρεῖ καὶ δυσέργῳ χρωμένοις ὁπλισμῷ. ζῴῳ γὰρ ἡ φάλαγξ ἔοικεν ἀμάχῳ τὴν ἰσχύν, ἕως ἓν ἐστι σῶμα καὶ τηρεῖ τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐν τάξει μιᾷ. διαλυθείσης δὲ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἕνα ῥώμην ἀπόλλυσι τῶν μαχομένων ἕκαστος διά τε τὸν τρόπον τῆς ὁπλίσεως καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ὅλου τοῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὑτὸν ἰσχύει. τραπομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐδίωκον τοὺς φεύγοντας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μαχομένους τῶν Μακεδόνων παρεκδραμόντες

and got their name from a resemblance in their shape. As was natural on a field so difficult, there were alternations of flight and pursuit, each party sending out aid from their camps to those who from time to time were getting the worst of it and retreating, until at last, when the air cleared up and they could see what was going on, they engaged with all their forces.[1]

With his right wing, then, Philip had the advantage, since from higher ground he threw his entire phalanx upon the Romans, who could not withstand the weight of its interlocked shields and the sharpness of its projecting pikes; but his left wing was broken up and scattered along the hills, and Titus, despairing of his defeated wing, rode swiftly along to the other, and with it fell upon the Macedonians. These were unable to hold their phalanx together and maintain the depth of its formation (which was the main source of their strength), being prevented by the roughness and irregularity of the ground, while for fighting man to man they had armour which was too cumbersome and heavy. For the phalanx is like an animal of invincible strength as long as it is one body and can keep its shields locked together in a single formation; but when it has been broken up into its parts, each of its fighting men loses also his individual force, as well because of the manner in which he is armed as because his strength lies in the mutual support of the parts of the whole body rather than in himself. This wing of the Macedonians being routed, some of the Romans pursued the fugitives, while others dashed out upon the flank of the

[1] For a fuller description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxiii. 7–10 (Polybius, xviii. 20–27).

ἐκ πλαγίων ἔκτεινον, ὥστε ταχὺ καὶ τοὺς νικῶντας περισπᾶσθαι καὶ φεύγειν τὰ ὅπλα καταβάλ-
5 λοντας. ἔπεσον μὲν οὖν ὀκτακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ἑάλωσαν δὲ περὶ πεντακισχιλίους. τοῦ δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἔλαβον Αἰτωλοί, περὶ ἁρπαγὴν γενόμενοι καὶ πόρθησιν τοῦ χάρακος ἔτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων διωκόντων, ὥστε μηθὲν εὑρεῖν ἐκείνους ἐπανελθόντας.

IX. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο λοιδορίαι καὶ διαφοραὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὸν Τίτον ἐλύπουν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνατιθέντες τὸ νίκημα καὶ τῇ φήμῃ προκαταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥστε καὶ γράφεσθαι καὶ ᾄδεσθαι προτέρους ἐκείνους ὑπὸ ποιητῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὑμνούν-
2 των τὸ ἔργον. ὧν μάλιστα διὰ στόματος ἦν τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

Ἄκλαυστοι καὶ ἄθαπτοι, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ
Θεσσαλίης τρισσαὶ κείμεθα μυριάδες,
Αἰτωλῶν δμηθέντες ὑπ' Ἄρεος ἠδὲ Λατίνων,
οὓς Τίτος εὐρείης ἤγαγ' ἀπ' Ἰταλίης,
Ἠμαθίῃ μέγα πῆμα. τὸ δὲ θρασὺ κεῖνο Φιλίππου
πνεῦμα θοῶν ἐλάφων ᾤχετ' ἐλαφρότερον.

3 Τοῦτο ἐποίησε μὲν Ἀλκαῖος ἐφυβρίζων Φιλίππῳ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐπιψευσάμενος, λεγόμενον δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἠνία τὸν Τίτον ἢ τὸν Φίλιππον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀντικωμῳδῶν τὸν Ἀλκαῖον τῷ ἐλεγείῳ παρέβαλεν·

enemy who were still fighting and cut them down, so that very soon their victorious wing also faced about, threw away their weapons, and fled. The result was that no fewer than eight thousand Macedonians were slain, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Philip, however, got safely away, and for this the Aetolians were to blame, who fell to sacking and plundering the enemy's camp while the Romans were still pursuing, so that when the Romans came back to it they found nothing there.

IX. This, to begin with, gave rise to mutual quarrels and recriminations; but afterwards the Aetolians vexed Titus more and more by ascribing the victory to themselves and prepossessing the minds of the Greeks with the fame of it, so that they were mentioned first in the writings and songs of poets and historians who celebrated the event. Of these the one most in vogue was the following epigram in elegiac verses:—

"Unwept and without graves are we, O traveller, who on this ridge of Thessaly lie dead, in number thirty thousand, subdued by the sword of the Aetolians, and of the Latins whom Titus led from spacious Italy, Emathia's great bane. And the bold spirit that Philip had displayed was gone; it showed itself more agile than swift deer."

This poem was composed by Alcaeus in mockery of Philip, and its author exaggerated the number of the slain; however, being recited in many places and by many persons, it gave more annoyance to Titus than to Philip. For Philip simply made fun of Alcaeus with an answering elegiac distich:—

Ἄφλοιος καὶ ἄφυλλος, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ
Ἀλκαίῳ σταυρὸς πήγνυται ἠλίβατος·

4 τὸν δὲ Τίτον φιλοτιμούμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
οὐ μετρίως παρώξυνε τὰ τοιαῦτα. διὸ καὶ τὰ
ὑπόλοιπα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔπραττε καθ' ἑαυτόν,
ἐλάχιστα φροντίζων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. οἱ δὲ ἤχθοντο,
καὶ προσδεξαμένου λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβείαν
ἐπὶ συμβάσεσι παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, τοῦτο
ἐκεῖνοι[1] περιϊόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐβόων,
πωλεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην Φιλίππῳ, παρὸν ἐκκόψαι
τὸν πόλεμον ἄρδην καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἀρχὴν ὑφ' ἧς
5 πρώτης ἐδουλώθη τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ταῦτα τῶν
Αἰτωλῶν λεγόντων καὶ διαταραττόντων τοὺς
συμμάχους, αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὰς 374
διαλύσεις ἀνεῖλε τὴν ὑποψίαν, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ
Τίτῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ καθ' αὑτόν. καὶ οὕτω
καταλύεται τὸν πόλεμον ὁ Τίτος· καὶ τὴν μὲν
Μακεδονικὴν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν, τῆς δὲ
Ἑλλάδος προσέταξεν ἀποστῆναι, χιλίοις δὲ τα-
λάντοις ἐζημίωσε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς πάσας παρείλετο
πλὴν δέκα, τῶν δὲ παίδων τὸν ἕτερον, Δημήτριον,
ὁμηρεύσοντα λαβὼν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν, ἄριστα
τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος καὶ προλαβὼν τὸ μέλλον.
6 Ἀννίβου γὰρ τοῦ Λίβυος, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθίστου τε
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ φυγάδος, ἤδη τότε πρὸς Ἀντίοχον
ἥκοντος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ παροξύνοντος αὐτὸν εἰς

[1] τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι Coraës, with the MSS. : τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο after Reiske.

"Leafless and without bark, O traveller, on this ridge
A cross is planted for Alcaeus, and it towers in the sun";

but Titus was ambitious to stand well with the Greeks, and such things irritated him beyond measure. For this reason he conducted the rest of his business by himself, and made very little account of the Aetolians. They on their part were displeased at this, and when Titus received an embassy from the Macedonian king with proposals for an agreement, they went round to the other cities vociferously charging him with selling peace to Philip, when it was in his power to eradicate the war entirely and destroy a power by which the Greek world had first been enslaved. While the Aetolians were making these charges and trying to make trouble among the Roman allies, Philip himself removed all grounds for suspicion by coming to terms and putting himself and his realm in the hands of Titus and the Romans. And in this manner Titus[1] put an end to the war; he returned to Philip his kingdom of Macedonia, but ordained that he should keep aloof from Greece, exacted from him an indemnity of a thousand talents, took away all his ships except ten, and taking one of his sons, Demetrius, to serve as hostage, sent him off to Rome, thus providing in the best manner for the present and anticipating the future.

For Hannibal the African, a most inveterate enemy of Rome and an exile from his native country, had already at that time[2] come to the court of King

[1] Rather, the ten commissioners sent from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece (chapter x. 1). Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 30 (Polybius xviii. 44).

[2] In 196 B.C., according to Nepos, *Hannibal*, vii. 6. According to Livy (xxxiii. 47), it was in the following year.

τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέναι τῇ τύχῃ τῆς δυνάμεως εὐροούσης, ἤδη καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πραγμάτων μεγάλων, ἃ κατεργασάμενος μέγας ἐπωνομάσθη, πρὸς τὴν ἁπάντων ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβλέποντα, μά-
7 λιστα δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνιστάμενον, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο προϊδὼν ὁ Τίτος ἐμφρόνως ἐνέδωκε πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλιππικὸν ὁ Ἀντιοχικὸς κατειλήφει πόλεμος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ συνέστησαν ὑπ' αἰτιῶν ἀμφότεροι κοινῶν οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν τότε καὶ δυνατώτατοι βασιλέων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔσχεν ἂν ἀγῶνας ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ
8 κινδύνους τῶν πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οὐκ ἐλάττους. νῦν δὲ τῶν πολέμων μέσην κατὰ καιρὸν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Τίτος, καὶ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τὸν μέλλοντα διακόψας τὸν παρόντα, τοῦ μὲν τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐλπίδα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ὑφεῖλεν.

X. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις, οὓς ἡ σύγκλητος ἔπεμψε τῷ Τίτῳ, συνεβούλευον τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν, Κόρινθον δὲ καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ Δημητριάδα διατηρεῖν ἐμφρούρους ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀσφαλείας, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ταῖς κατηγορίαις λαμπροὶ λαμπρῶς τὰς πόλεις ἀνερρήγνυσαν Αἰτωλοί, τὸν μὲν Τίτον κελεύοντες τὰς πέδας τῆς Ἑλλάδος λύειν (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος εἰώθει τὰς
2 προειρημένας πόλεις ὀνομάζειν), τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας ἐρωτῶντες εἰ κλοιὸν ἔχοντες βαρύτερον μέν, λειότερον δὲ τοῦ πάλαι τὸν νῦν, χαίρουσι, καὶ θαυμάζουσι τὸν Τίτον ὡς εὐεργέτην, ὅτι τοῦ ποδὸς λύσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ τραχήλου δέδεκεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀχθόμενος ὁ Τίτος καὶ βαρέως φέρων, καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ συνεδρίου, τέλος ἐξέπεισε καὶ ταύτας

Antiochus, and was trying to incite him to further achievements while fortune gave his power successful course. Antiochus himself also, in consequence of the magnitude of his achievements, by which he had won the title of Great, was already fixing his eyes on universal dominion, and had a particular hostility to the Romans. Therefore, had not Titus, in view of all this, made favourable terms of peace, and had the war with Antiochus in Greece found the war with Philip still in progress there, and had a common cause brought these two greatest and most powerful kings of the time into alliance against Rome, that city would have undergone fresh struggles and dangers not inferior to those which marked her war with Hannibal. But as it was, by interposing an opportune peace between the two wars, and by cutting short the existing war before the threatening war began, Titus took away the last hope from Philip, and the first from Antiochus.

X. And now the ten commissioners, who had been sent to Titus by the senate, advised him to give the rest of the Greeks their freedom, but to retain Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias under garrisons, as a safeguard against Antiochus. Thereupon the Aetolians stirred up the cities with the most vociferous denunciations, ordering Titus to strike off the shackles of Greece (for that is what Philip was wont to call these three cities), and asking the Greeks whether they were glad to have a fetter now which was smoother than the one they had worn before, but heavier; and whether they admired Titus as a benefactor because he had unshackled the foot of Greece and put a collar round her neck. Titus was troubled and distressed at this, and by labouring with the commission

τὰς πόλεις ἀνεῖναι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὅπως ὁλόκληρος ἡ χάρις ὑπάρξῃ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

3 Ἰσθμίων οὖν ἀγομένων πλῆθος μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ καθῆστο τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα θεωμένων, οἷα δὴ διὰ χρόνων πεπαυμένης μὲν πολέμων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας, σαφεῖ δὲ εἰρήνῃ πανηγυριζούσης· τῇ σάλπιγγι δὲ σιω-
4 πῆς εἰς ἅπαντας διαδοθείσης, προελθὼν εἰς μέσον ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπεν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ Τίτος Κοΐντιος στρατηγὸς ὕπατος καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἀφιᾶσιν ἀφρουρήτους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις, Κορινθίους, Λοκρούς, Φωκεῖς, Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς Φθιώτας, Μάγνητας, Θετταλούς, Περραιβούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ πάνυ πάντες οὐδὲ σαφῶς ἐπήκουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνώμαλος καὶ θορυβώδης κίνησις ἦν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ θαυμαζόντων καὶ διαπυν-
5 θανομένων καὶ πάλιν ἀνειπεῖν κελευόντων· ὡς δ᾽ αὖθις ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἀναγαγὼν ὁ κῆρυξ τὴν φωνὴν προθυμότερον εἰς ἅπαντας ἐγεγώνει καὶ διῆλθε τὸ κήρυγμα, κραυγὴ μὲν ἄπιστος τὸ μέγεθος διὰ χαρὰν ἐχώρει μέχρι θαλάττης, ὀρθὸν δὲ ἀνειστήκει τὸ θέατρον, οὐδεὶς δὲ λόγος ἦν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἔσπευδον δὲ πάντες ἀναπηδῆσαι καὶ δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν τὸν σωτῆρα τῆς 375
Ἑλλάδος καὶ πρόμαχον.

6 Τὸ δὲ πολλάκις λεγόμενον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φωνῆς καὶ μέγεθος ὤφθη τότε. κόρακες γὰρ

finally persuaded it to free these cities also from their garrisons, in order that his gift to the Greeks might be whole and entire.

Accordingly, at the Isthmian games, where a great throng of people were sitting in the stadium and watching the athletic contests (since, indeed, after many years Greece had at last ceased from wars waged in hopes of freedom, and was now holding festival in time of assured peace), the trumpet signalled a general silence, and the herald, coming forward into the midst of the spectators, made proclamation that the Roman senate and Titus Quintius Flamininus proconsular general, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, restored to freedom, without garrisons and without imposts, and to the enjoyment of their ancient laws, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhaebians. At first, then, the proclamation was by no means generally or distinctly heard, but there was a confused and tumultuous movement in the stadium of people who wondered what had been said, and asked one another questions about it, and called out to have the proclamation made again; but when silence had been restored, and the herald in tones that were louder than before and reached the ears of all, had recited the proclamation, a shout of joy arose, so incredibly loud that it reached the sea. The whole audience rose to their feet, and no heed was paid to the contending athletes, but all were eager to spring forward and greet and hail the saviour and champion of Greece.

And that which is often said of the volume and power of the human voice was then apparent to the

ὑπερπετόμενοι κατὰ τύχην ἔπεσον εἰς τὸ στάδιον. αἰτία δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος ῥῆξις· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη φέρηται, διασπώμενος ὑπ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀντερείδει τοῖς πετομένοις, ἀλλ' ὀλίσθημα ποιεῖ καθάπερ κενεμβατοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πληγῇ τινι μᾶλλον ὡς ὑπὸ βέλους διελαυνόμενα πίπτει καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. δύναται δὲ καὶ περιδίνησις εἶναι τοῦ ἀέρος, οἷον ἑλιγμὸν ἐν πελάγει καὶ παλιρρύμην τοῦ σάλου διὰ μέγεθος λαμβάνοντος.

XI. Ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος, εἰ μὴ τάχιστα τῆς θέας διαλυθείσης ὑπιδόμενος τὴν φορὰν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐξέκλινεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει περιγενέσθαι τοσούτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτῷ περιχεομένων. ὡς δ' ἀπέκαμον περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ βοῶντες ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης, αὖθις οὕστινας ἴδοιεν ἢ φίλους ἢ πολίτας ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ περιπλεκόμενοι, πρὸς δεῖπνα καὶ πότους ἐτρέποντο
2 μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς εἰκός, ἡδομένοις ἐπῄει λογίζεσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅσους πολεμήσασα πολέμους διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὔπω τύχοι βεβαιότερον οὐδὲ ἥδιον αὐτῆς, ἑτέρων προαγωνισαμένων ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀναίμακτος αὐτὴ καὶ ἀπενθὴς φερομένη τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ περιμαχητότατον ἆθλον. ἦν δ' ἄρα σπάνιον μὲν ἀνδρεία καὶ φρόνησις ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σπανιώτατον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὁ δίκαιος.
3 οἱ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαοι καὶ Λύσανδροι καὶ οἱ Νικίαι

eye. For ravens which chanced to be flying overhead fell down into the stadium. The cause of this was the rupture of the air; for when the voice is borne aloft loud and strong, the air is rent asunder by it and will not support flying creatures, but lets them fall, as if they were over a vacuum, unless, indeed, they are transfixed by a sort of blow, as of a weapon, and fall down dead.[1] It is possible, too, that in such cases there is a whirling motion of the air, which becomes like a waterspout at sea with a refluent flow of the surges caused by their very volume.

XI. Be that as it may, had not Titus, now that the spectacle was given up, at once foreseen the rush and press of the throng and taken himself away, it would seem that he could hardly have survived the concourse of so many people about him at once and from all sides. But when they were tired of shouting about his tent, and night was already come, then, with greetings and embraces for any friends and fellow citizens whom they saw, they betook themselves to banqueting and carousing with one another. And here, their pleasure naturally increasing, they were moved to reason and discourse about Greece, saying that although she had waged many wars for the sake of her freedom, she had not yet obtained a more secure or more delightful exercise of it than now, when others had striven in her behalf, and she herself, almost without a drop of blood or a pang of grief, had borne away the fairest and most enviable of prizes. Verily, they would say, valour and wisdom are rare things among men, but the rarest of all blessings is the just man. For men like Agesilaüs, or Lysander, or Nicias, or Alcibiades could indeed

[1] Cf. the *Pompey*, xxv. 7.

καὶ οἱ Ἀλκιβιάδαι πολέμους μὲν εὖ διέπειν καὶ μάχας νικᾶν κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἄρχοντες ἠπίσταντο, χρῆσθαι δὲ πρὸς χάριν εὐγενῆ καὶ τὸ καλὸν οἷς κατώρθουν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ Μαραθώνιόν τις ἔργον ἀφέλοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θερμοπύλας καὶ τὰ πρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι καὶ τὰ περὶ Κύπρον Κίμωνος ἔργα, πάσας τὰς μάχας ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ μεμάχηται πρὸς αὑτήν, καὶ πᾶν τρόπαιον αὐτῆς συμφορὰ καὶ ὄνειδος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἕστηκε, τὰ πλεῖστα κακίᾳ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ
4 τῶν ἡγουμένων περιτραπείσης. ἀλλόφυλοι δὲ ἄνδρες, ἐναύσματα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κοινωνήματα παλαιοῦ γένους ἔχειν δοκοῦντες, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ λόγῳ τι καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν χρησίμων ὑπάρξαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι θαυμαστὸν ἦν, οὗτοι τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις καὶ πόνοις ἐξελόμενοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεσποτῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ τυράννων ἐλευθεροῦσι.

XII. Ταῦτα δὴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπῄει· καὶ τὰ τῶν ἔργων ὁμολογοῦντα τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ἅμα γὰρ ἐξέπεμπεν ὁ Τίτος Λέντλον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν Βαργυλιήτας ἐλευθερώσοντα, Στερτίνιον δὲ εἰς Θρᾴκην τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις καὶ νήσους ἀπαλλάξοντα τῶν Φιλίππου φρουρῶν. Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐίλλιος ἔπλει διαλεξόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ περὶ τῆς
2 τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τίτος εἰς Χαλκίδα παρελθών, εἶτα πλεύσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Μαγνησίαν, ἐξῆγε τὰς φρουρὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπεδίδου τοῖς δήμοις. ἀγωνοθέτης δὲ Νεμείων ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐν Ἄργει τήν τε πανήγυριν ἄριστα διέθηκε, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἀνεῖπεν.

conduct wars well, and understood how to be victorious commanders in battles by land and sea, but they would not use their successes so as to win legitimate favour and promote the right. Indeed, if one excepts the action at Marathon, the sea-fight at Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, and the achievements of Cimon at the Eurymedon and about Cyprus, Greece has fought all her battles to bring servitude upon herself, and every one of her trophies stands as a memorial of her own calamity and disgrace, since she owed her overthrow chiefly to the baseness and contentiousness of her leaders. Whereas men of another race, who were thought to have only slight sparks and insignificant traces of a common remote ancestry, from whom it was astonishing that any helpful word or purpose should be vouchsafed to Greece—these men underwent the greatest perils and hardships in order to rescue Greece and set her free from cruel despots and tyrants.

XII. So ran the thoughts of the Greeks; and the acts of Titus were consonant with his proclamations. For at once he sent Lentulus to Asia to set Bargylia free, and Stertinius to Thrace to deliver the cities and islands there from Philip's garrisons. Moreover, Publius Villius sailed to have a conference with Antiochus concerning the freedom of the Greeks who were under his sway. Titus himself also paid a visit to Chalcis, and then sailed from there to Magnesia, removing their garrisons and restoring to the peoples their constitutions. He was also appointed master of ceremonies for the Nemeian games at Argos, where he conducted the festival in the best possible manner, and once more publicly proclaimed freedom to the

3 *ἐπιφοιτῶν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν εὐνομίαν ἅμα καὶ*
δίκην πολλὴν ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνην
πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρεῖχε, καταπαύων μὲν τὰς
στάσεις, κατάγων δὲ τὰς φυγάς, ἀγαλλόμενος δὲ
τῷ πείθειν καὶ διαλλάσσειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας *οὐχ*
ἧττον ἢ τῷ κεκρατηκέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων, *ὥστε*
μικρότατον ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δοκεῖν ὧν εὐεργε-
τοῦντο.

4 *Ξενοκράτην μὲν οὖν τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὅτε* Λυ- 37[illegible]
κοῦργος αὐτὸν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν ἀγόμε-
νον πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῖς ἄγουσιν
ἐπέθηκε δίκην τῆς ἀσελγείας, λέγεται τοῖς παισὶν
ἀπαντήσαντα τοῦ Λυκούργου, "Καλήν *γε ὑμῶν,*
ὦ παῖδες," φάναι, "τῷ πατρὶ χάριν ἀποδίδωμι·
πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε,"
Τίτῳ *δὲ καὶ* Ῥωμαίοις *ὧν τοὺς* Ἕλληνας *εὐεργέ-*
τησαν οὐκ εἰς ἐπαίνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν
ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δύναμιν ἡ χάρις ἀπήντα
5 *δικαίως. οὐ γὰρ προσδεχόμενοι μόνον τοὺς*
ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι καὶ
καλοῦντες ἐνεχείριζον αὐτούς. οὐδὲ δῆμοι καὶ
πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀδικού-
μενοι βασιλέων κατέφευγον εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων
χεῖρας, ὥστε ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ, τάχα που καὶ
θεοῦ συνεφαπτομένου, πάντα αὐτοῖς ὑπήκοα
γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέγιστον ἐφρόνησεν ἐπὶ
6 *τῇ τῆς* Ἑλλάδος *ἐλευθερώσει. ἀνατιθεὶς γὰρ εἰς*
Δελφοὺς *ἀσπίδας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θυρεὸν*
ἐπέγραψε·

Greeks. Then he visited the different cities, establishing among them law and order, abundant justice, concord, and mutual friendliness. He quieted their factions and restored their exiles, and plumed himself on his persuading and reconciling the Greeks more than on his conquest of the Macedonians, so that their freedom presently seemed to them the least of his benefactions.

Xenocrates the philosopher, as the story runs, was once being haled away to prison by the tax-collectors for not having paid the alien's tax, but was rescued out of their hands by Lycurgus the orator, who also visited the officials with punishment for their impudence. Xenocrates afterwards met the sons of Lycurgus, and said: "My boys, I am making a noble return to your father for his kindness towards me; for all the world is praising him for what he did." In the case of Titus and the Romans, however, gratitude for their benefactions to the Greeks brought them, not merely praises, but also confidence among all men and power, and justly too. For men not only received the officers appointed by them, but actually sent for them and invited them and put themselves in their hands. And this was true not only of peoples and cities, nay, even kings who had been wronged by other kings fled for refuge into the hands of Roman officials, so that in a short time—and perhaps there was also divine guidance in this—everything became subject to them. But Titus himself took most pride in his liberation of Greece. For in dedicating at Delphi some silver bucklers and his own long shield, he provided them with this inscription:—

Ζηνὸς ἰὼ κραιπναῖσι γεγαθότες ἱπποσύναισι
κοῦροι, ἰὼ Σπάρτας Τυνδαρίδαι βασιλεῖς,
Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὔμμιν ὑπέρτατον ὤπασε δῶρον,
Ἑλλήνων τεύξας παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν.

7 ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι στέφανον ἐπιγράψας.

Τόνδε τοι ἀμβροσίοισιν ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἔοικε[1]
κεῖσθαι, Λατοΐδα, χρυσοφαῆ στέφανον,
ὃν[2] πόρεν Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας. ἀλλ', Ἑκάεργε,
ἀλκᾶς τῷ θείῳ κῦδος ὄπαζε Τίτῳ.

8 Τῇ δ' οὖν[3] Κορινθίων πόλει πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸ αὐτὸ δὶς ἤδη συμβέβηκε· καὶ γὰρ Τίτος ἐν Κορίνθῳ τότε καὶ Νέρων αὖθις καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παραπλησίως Ἰσθμίων ἀγομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν, ὁ μὲν διὰ κήρυκος, ὡς εἴρηται, Νέρων δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ βήματος ἐν τῷ πλήθει δημηγορήσας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Τίτος τότε καλλίστου καὶ δικαιοτάτου τοῦ πρὸς Νάβιν ἀρξάμενος πολέμου, τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξωλέστατον καὶ παρανομώτατον τύραννον, ἐν τῷ τέλει διεψεύσατο τὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλπίδας, ἑλεῖν παρασχὸν οὐκ ἐθελήσας, ἀλλὰ σπεισάμενος καὶ προέμενος τὴν Σπάρτην ἀναξίως δουλεύουσαν, εἴτε δείσας μὴ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος λαμβάνοντος ἄλλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν στρα-

[1] ἔοικε an anonymous correction adopted by Sintenis[2] and Blass; Coraës and Bekker retain the vulgate ἔθηκε.
[2] ὃν Bekker corrects to ὅς, after Jacobs.
[3] δ' οὖν Bekker and Blass: γοῦν.

"O ye sons of Zeus, whose joy is in swift horsemanship, O ye Tyndaridae, princes of Sparta, Titus, a descendant of Aeneas, has brought you a most excellent gift, he who for the sons of the Greeks wrought freedom."

He also dedicated a golden wreath to Apollo, and it bore this inscription:—

"This will fitly lie on thine ambrosial locks, O son of Leto, this wreath with sheen of gold; it is the gift of a great leader whose descent is from Aeneas. Therefore, O Far-darter, bestow upon the god-like Titus the glory due to his prowess."

It follows, then, that the city of Corinth has twice now been the scene of the same benefaction to the Greeks; for it was in Corinth that Titus at this time, and at Corinth that Nero again in our own times—in both cases at the Isthmian games—made the Greeks free and self-governing, Titus by voice of herald, but Nero in a public address which he delivered in person, on a tribunal in the market-place amidst the multitude. This, however, came at a later time.[1]

XIII. Titus now began a most honourable and righteous war, the war against Nabis, that most pernicious and lawless tyrant of Sparta, but in the end he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For though it was in his power to capture the tyrant, he refused to do so, and made peace with him, thus leaving Sparta to the fate of an unworthy servitude. He was led to this step either by his fear that a protraction of the war would bring another general from Rome

[1] In 67 A.D.

τηγὸς ἀνέληται τὴν δόξαν, εἴτε φιλονεικίᾳ καὶ
2 ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῶν Φιλοποίμενος τιμῶν, ὃν ἔν τε τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄνδρα δεινότατον τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ὄντα καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον ἔργα θαυμαστὰ
τόλμης καὶ δεινότητος ἀποδειξάμενον ἴσα τῷ Τίτῳ
κυδαίνοντες Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ τιμῶντες ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις
ἐλύπουν ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντα Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτῳ
προπολεμοῦντι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνθρωπον Ἀρκάδα,
μικρῶν καὶ ὁμόρων πολέμων στρατηγόν, ὅμοια
3 θαυμάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ
Τίτος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπελογεῖτο, καταθέσθαι τὸν
πόλεμον ὡς ἑώρα σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἄλλων
Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπολούμενον τὸν τύραννον.

Τῶν δὲ Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ πρὸς τιμὴν
ψηφισαμένων οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας
ἐξισοῦσθαι πλὴν μιᾶς δωρεᾶς, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀντὶ
4 πάντων ἠγάπησεν. ἦν δὲ τοιάδε. Ῥωμαίων οἱ
δυστυχήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν πολέμῳ
πολλαχοῦ μὲν ὤνιοι γενόμενοι καὶ διασπαρέντες
ἐδούλευον· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι
τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν, ἀεὶ μὲν οἰκτροὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς,
τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐντυγχάνοντες οἱ
μὲν υἱοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοῖς, οἱ δὲ συνήθεσιν, ἐλευθέ-
5 ροις δοῦλοι καὶ νικῶσιν αἰχμάλωτοι. τούτους ὁ 377
μὲν Τίτος οὐκ ἀφείλετο τῶν κεκτημένων, καίπερ
ἀνιώμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ λυτρωσάμενοι

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[1] Cf. the *Philopoemen*, xv. 1–3.

to succeed him and rob him of his glory, or by his jealous displeasure at the honours paid to Philopoemen. For in all other matters Philopoemen was a most capable man among the Greeks, and in that war particularly he displayed astonishing deeds of ability and daring, so that he was extolled by the Achaeans as much as Titus, and equally honoured in their theatres. This annoyed Titus, who thought it out of keeping that a man of Arcadia, who had held command in small border wars, should receive just as much admiration from the Achaeans as a Roman consul, who was waging war in behalf of Greece.[1] However, Titus himself had this to say in defence of his course, namely, that he put an end to the war when he saw that the destruction of the tyrant would involve the rest of the Spartans also in serious disaster.[2]

The Achaeans voted Titus many honours, none of which seemed commensurate with his benefactions except one gift, and this caused him as much satisfaction as all the rest put together. And this was the gift: The Romans who were unhappily taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal had been sold about hither and thither, and were serving as slaves. In Greece there were as many as twelve hundred of them. The change in their lot made them pitiful objects always, but then even more than ever, naturally, when they fell in with sons, or brothers, or familiar friends, as the case might be, slaves with freemen and captives with victors. These men Titus would not take away from their owners, although he was distressed at their condition, but the Achaeans

[2] Titus offered this defence of his course to the congress of Greek states at Corinth (Livy, xxxiv. 48 f.).

πέντε μνῶν ἕκαστον ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ πάντας ἤδη περὶ πλοῦν ὄντι τῷ Τίτῳ παρέδωκαν, ὥστε αὐτὸν εὐφραινόμενον ἀποπλεῖν, ἀπὸ καλῶν ἔργων καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ πρεπούσας ἀνδρὶ
6 μεγάλῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ κεκομισμένον· ὃ δὴ δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπάρξαι λαμπρότατον. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὗτοι, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὅταν ἐλευθερωθῶσιν, ξύρεσθαί τε τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πιλία φορεῖν, ταῦτα δράσαντες αὐτοὶ θριαμβεύοντι τῷ Τίτῳ παρείποντο.

XIV. Καλλίω δὲ καὶ τὰ λάφυρα πομπευόμενα παρεῖχεν ὄψιν, Ἑλληνικὰ κράνη καὶ πέλται Μακεδονικαὶ καὶ σάρισαι. τό τε τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦν, ὡς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ περὶ Τουδιτανὸν ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ κομισθῆναι χρυσίου μὲν συγκεχωνευμένου λίτρας τρισχιλίας ἑπτακοσίας δεκατρεῖς, ἀργύρου δὲ τετρακισμυρίας
2 τρισχιλίας διακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα, φιλιππείους δὲ χρυσοῦς μυρίους τετρακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους δεκατέσσαρας, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ χίλια τάλαντα Φίλιππος ὤφειλεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐπείσθησαν Ῥωμαῖοι, μάλιστα τοῦ Τίτου συμπράξαντος, ἀφεῖναι τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ σύμμαχον ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπήλλαξαν αὐτῷ τῆς ὁμηρείας.

XV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ περαιωθεὶς ἀφίστη τὰς πόλεις καὶ διεστασίαζεν, Αἰτωλῶν αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβανομένων καὶ πάλαι διακειμένων πρὸς

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[1] The mina was one sixtieth part of a talent, or one hundred drachmas.

ransomed them all at five minas[1] the man, collected them together, and made a present of them to Titus just as he was about to embark, so that he sailed for home with a glad heart; his noble deeds had brought him a noble recompense, and one befitting a great man who loved his fellow citizens. This appears to have furnished his triumph with its most glorious feature. For these men shaved their heads and wore felt caps, as it is customary for slaves to do when they are set free, and in this habit followed the triumphal car of Titus.

XIV. But a more beautiful show was made by the spoils of war which were displayed in the procession —Greek helmets and Macedonian bucklers and pikes. Besides, the amount of money exhibited was large. Tuditanus records that there were carried in the procession three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of gold bullion, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds of silver, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins bearing Philip's effigy.[2] And apart from this money Philip owed his fine of a thousand talents.[3] This fine, however, the Romans were afterwards persuaded to remit to Philip, and this was chiefly due to the efforts of Titus; they also made Philip their ally, and sent back his son whom they held as hostage.

XV. Presently, however, Antiochus crossed into Greece[4] with many ships and a large army, and began to stir the cities into faction and revolt. The Aetolians made common cause with him, a people which had long been most inimically disposed towards

[2] These "Philips" were nearly equivalent to sovereigns. Cf. Livy's description of the triumph (xxxiv. 52).

[3] Cf. chapter ix. 5. [4] In the autumn of 192 B.C.

τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἐχθρῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς, ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πρόφασιν διδόντων ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν δεομένους (ἐλεύθεροι
2 γὰρ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεστέρας αἰτίας ἀπορίᾳ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων χρῆσθαι διδασκόντων, καὶ σφόδρα δείσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως, στρατηγὸν μὲν ὕπατον τοῦ πολέμου Μάνιον Ἀκίλιον κατέπεμψαν, πρεσβευτὴν δὲ Τίτον διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ὀφθεὶς ἐποίησε βεβαιοτέρους, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχομένους νοσεῖν ὥσπερ τι[1] ἐν καιρῷ φάρμακον ἐνδιδοὺς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν ἔστησε καὶ
3 διεκώλυσεν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξέφυγον ἤδη προκατειλημμένοι καὶ διεφθαρμένοι παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, οὓς καίπερ ὀργισθεὶς καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ὅμως μετὰ τὴν μάχην περιεποίησεν. Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ἡττηθεὶς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ φυγὼν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπέπλευσε, Μάνιος δ' ὁ ὕπατος τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπολιόρκει, τοὺς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ συνεχώ-
4 ρησεν ἐξαιρεῖν. ἀγομένων δὲ καὶ φερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦτο μὲν Δολόπων καὶ Μαγνήτων, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀθαμάνων καὶ Ἀπεραντῶν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Μανίου τὴν μὲν Ἡράκλειαν διαπεπορθηκότος, τὴν δὲ Ναύπακτον Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων πολιορκοῦντος, οἰκτείρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁ Τίτος διέπλευσεν

[1] ὥσπερ τι Coraës, Bekker, and Blass, after Stephanus: ὥσπερ τις.

the Romans, and they suggested to him, as a pretext that would account for the war, that he should offer the Greeks their freedom. The Greeks did not want to be set free, for they were free already; but for lack of a more appropriate ground for his action the Aetolians taught Antiochus to make use of that fairest of all names. The Romans, greatly alarmed by reports of defection among the Greeks and of the power of Antiochus, sent out Manius Acillius as consular general for the war, but made Titus his lieutenant to please the Greeks. The mere sight of him confirmed some of these in their loyalty to Rome, while to others, who were beginning to be infected with disloyalty, he administered a timely medicine, as it were, in the shape of good will towards himself, and thus checked their malady and prevented them from going wrong. A few, however, escaped his influence, having been already won over beforehand and totally corrupted by the Aetolians, but even these, in spite of his vexation and anger, were spared by him after the battle. For Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae[1] and put to flight, and at once sailed back to Asia; while Manius the consul went against some of the Aetolians himself and besieged them, leaving others to King Philip to destroy. And so it came about that the Dolopians and Magnesians here, the Athamanians and Aperantians there, were harried and plundered by the Macedonians, while Manius himself, after sacking Heracleia, was engaged in the siege of Naupactus, which the Aetolians held. Then Titus, out of pity for the Greeks, sailed across from Peloponnesus to

[1] In 191 B.C. For a description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxvi. 14–21.

ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν ἐπετίμησεν εἰ νενικηκὼς αὐτὸς τὰ ἔπαθλα τοῦ
πολέμου Φίλιππον ἐᾷ φέρεσθαι, καὶ τριβόμενος
περὶ μιᾷ πόλει κάθηται δι' ὀργήν, ἔθνη δὲ οὐκ
5 ὀλίγα καὶ βασιλείας Μακεδόνες αἱροῦσιν. ἔπειτα
τῶν πολιορκουμένων, ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
τείχους ἀνακαλούντων καὶ χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων καὶ
δεομένων, τότε μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπών, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς
καὶ δακρύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὕστερον δὲ διαλεχθεὶς τῷ
Μανίῳ καὶ καταπαύσας τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ διεπρά-
ξατο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἀνοχὰς δοθῆναι, καὶ χρόνον
ἐν ᾧ πρεσβεύσαντες εἰς Ῥώμην μετρίου τινὸς
τυχεῖν ἀξιώσουσι.

XVI. Πλεῖστον δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον αὐτῷ 378
παρεῖχον αἱ περὶ Χαλκιδέων δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν
Μάνιον, ἐν ὀργῇ γεγονότων διὰ τὸν γάμον ὃν παρ'
αὐτῶν ἔγημεν Ἀντίοχος ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου συνε-
στῶτος, οὐ καθ' ὥραν οὐδὲ κατὰ καιρόν, ἀλλ'
ἐρασθεὶς ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος κόρης, ἣ θυγάτηρ μὲν
ἦν Κλεοπτολέμου, καλλίστη δὲ λέγεται παρθένων
2 γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς ἐποίησε βασιλί-
σαι προθυμότατα καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον ὁρμητήριον παρασχεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν
ὡς τάχιστα μετὰ τὴν μάχην φεύγων προσέμιξε
τῇ Χαλκίδι, τήν τε κόρην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὰ
χρήματα καὶ τοὺς φίλους εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπέπλευσε·
τὸν δὲ Μάνιον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς σὺν ὀργῇ

the consul. At first he chided Manius because, although the victory was his own, he was permitting Philip to carry off the prizes of the war, and to gratify his anger was wasting time in the siege of a single city, while the Macedonians were subduing many nations and kingdoms. Then, when the besieged citizens caught sight of him from their walls and called aloud upon him and stretched out their hands to him imploringly, he turned away, burst into tears, and left the place, without saying anything more at the time; afterwards, however, he had an interview with Manius, put an end to his wrath, and induced him to grant the Aetolians a truce, and time in which to send an embassy to Rome with a plea for moderate terms.

XVI. But the hardest toils and struggles fell to Titus when he interceded with Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. They had incurred the consul's wrath because of the marriage which Antiochus had made in their city after the war had already begun, a marriage which was not only unseasonable, but unsuitable for the king's years, since he was an elderly man and had fallen in love with a girl (the girl was a daughter of Cleoptolemus, and is said to have been most beautiful among maidens).[1] This marriage induced the Chalcidians to take the king's side most zealously and allow their city to be his base of operations for the war. Antiochus, therefore, fleeing with all speed after the battle at Thermopylae, came to Chalcis, and taking with him his girl-wife, his treasure, and his friends, sailed back to Asia; but Manius immediately marched against Chalcis in a rage. He was accompanied, however, by Titus, who

[1] Cf. the *Philopoemen*, xvii. 1.

πορευόμενον ὁ Τίτος παρακολουθῶν ἐμάλαττε καὶ παρῃτεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἔπεισε καὶ κατεπράϋνεν, αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων δεόμενος.

3 Οὕτω διασωθέντες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναθημάτων τῷ Τίτῳ καθιέρωσαν, ὧν ἐπιγραφὰς ἔστι τοιαύτας ἄχρι νῦν ὁρᾶν· "Ὁ δῆμος Τίτῳ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸ γυμνάσιον," ἑτέρωθι δὲ πάλιν, "Ὁ δῆμος Τίτῳ
4 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ Δελφίνιον." ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερεὺς χειροτονητὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο Τίτου, καὶ θύσαντες αὐτῷ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ᾄδουσι παιᾶνα πεποιημένον, οὗ τἆλλα διὰ μῆκος ἡμεῖς παρέντες ἀνεγράψαμεν ἃ παυόμενοι τῆς ᾠδῆς λέγουσι·

πίστιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων σέβομεν,
τὰν μεγαλευκτοτάταν ὅρκοις φυλάσσειν·
μέλπετε κοῦραι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ' ἅμα Ῥωμαίων
τε πίστιν·
ἰήϊε Παιάν, ὦ Τίτε σῶτερ.

XVII. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων[1] τιμαὶ πρέπουσαι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς ἀληθινὰς ποιοῦν, εὔνοια θαυμαστὴ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἤθους. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τισιν ἐκ πραγμάτων ἢ φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα, καθάπερ Φιλοποίμενι καὶ πάλιν Διοφάνει στρατηγοῦντι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, προσέκρουσεν, οὐκ ἦν βαρὺς οὐδ' εἰς ἔργα διατείνων ὁ θυμός, ἀλλ' ἐν λόγῳ παρρησίαν τινὰ πολιτικὴν ἔχοντι παυόμενος.
2 πικρὸς μὲν οὖν οὐδενί, πολλοῖς δὲ ὀξὺς ἐδόκει καὶ

[1] τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Coraës and Blass, after Bryan: τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

tried to mollify and intercede with him and at last won him over and calmed him down by entreaties addressed both to him and the other Romans in authority.

Having been thus saved by Titus, the Chalcidians dedicated to him the largest and most beautiful of the votive offerings in their city, and on them such inscriptions as these are still to be seen: "This gymnasium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Heracles," and again in another place, "This Delphinium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Apollo." Moreover, even down to our own day a priest of Titus is duly elected and appointed, and after sacrifice and libations in his honour, a set hymn of praise to him is sung: it is too long to be quoted entire, and so I will give only the closing words of the song:

> "And the Roman faith we revere, which we have solemnly vowed to cherish; sing, then, ye maidens, to great Zeus, to Rome, to Titus, and to the Roman faith: hail, Paean Apollo! hail, Titus our saviour!"

XVII. He also received from the rest of the Greeks fitting honours, and these were made sincere by the astonishing good will which his equitable nature called forth. For even if the conduct of affairs or the spirit of rivalry brought him into collision with any of them, as, for instance, with Philopoemen, and again with Diophanes the general of the Achaeans, his resentment was not heavy, nor did it carry him into violent acts, but when it had vented itself in the outspoken language of free public debate, there was an end of it. However, he was never bitter,

κοῦφος εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλως δὲ συγγενέσθαι πάντων ἥδιστος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐπίχαρις μετὰ δεινότητος. Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν γὰρ σφετεριζομένους τὴν Ζακυνθίων νῆσον ἀποτρέπων ἔφη κινδυνεύσειν, ἂν ὥσπερ αἱ χελῶναι πορρωτέρω τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Πελοποννήσου προτείνωσι· Φιλίππου δέ, ὁπηνίκα περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης τὸ πρῶτον εἰς λόγους συνῄεσαν, εἰπόντος μετὰ πολλῶν ἥκειν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τίτος, "Αὐτὸν γάρ," ἔφη, "μόνον ἐποίησας ἀποκτείνας τοὺς φίλους
3 καὶ συγγενεῖς." ἐπεὶ δὲ Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ πότον μεθυσθεὶς ὠρχήσατο λαβὼν ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν Τίτον ἠξίου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ διανοουμένῳ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφιστάναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ταῦτα μὲν ἔφη σκέψεσθαι, θαυμάζειν δὲ ἐκεῖνον, εἰ τηλικαύταις ἐπικεχειρηκὼς πράξεσιν ὀρχεῖσθαι δύναται παρὰ πότον
4 καὶ ᾄδειν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τῶν παρὰ Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεων πλῆθός τι[1] τῆς βασιλικῆς στρατιᾶς καταλεγόντων καὶ καταριθμουμένων πολλὰς προσηγορίας, ὁ Τίτος ἔφη δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ ξένῳ καὶ μεμφομένου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κρεῶν καὶ θαυμάζοντος πόθεν οὕτω ποικίλης ἀγορᾶς εὐπόρησεν, εἰπεῖν τὸν ξένον, ὡς ὕεια πάντα ἐστὶ τῇ σκευασίᾳ διαφέροντα καὶ τοῖς ἡδύσμασι.
5 "Μὴ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "μηδὲ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοί,

[1] πλῆθός τι Coraës and Bekker have πλῆθος τε, after Bryan.

although many imputed hastiness and levity to his nature, and in general he was a most agreeable companion and able to say a graceful thing with force. For instance, when he was trying to dissuade the Achaeans from appropriating the island of Zacynthos, he said it would be dangerous for them, like a tortoise, to stick their head out of its Peloponnesian shell.[1] Again, when he held his first conference with Philip concerning a truce and peace, and Philip remarked that Titus had come with many attendants while he himself had come alone, Titus answered, "Yes, thou hast made thyself alone by slaying thy friends and kindred."[2] Again, when Deinocrates the Messenian, who had taken too much wine at a drinking-party in Rome, and after putting on a woman's robe had executed a dance, on the following day asked Titus to assist him in his plan to separate Messene from the Achaean league, Titus said he would consider the matter; "But I am amazed," said he, "that when thou hast matters of so great moment in hand, thou canst dance and sing at a drinking-party."[3] And once more, when an embassy from Antiochus was recounting to the Achaeans the vast multitude of the king's forces and enumerating them all by their various appellations, Titus said that once, when he was dining with a friend, he criticised the multitude of meats that were served, wondering where he had obtained so varied a supply; whereupon his host told him they were all swine's flesh, and differed only in the way they were cooked and dressed. "And so in your case," said he, "men of

[1] Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 32; Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 197 b.
[2] Cf. *Morals*, p. 197 a (Polybius, xviii. 7).
[3] Cf. the *Philopoemen*, xviii. ff. (Polybius, xxiii. 5).

θαυμάζετε τὴν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν λογχοφόρους καὶ ξυστοφόρους καὶ πεζεταίρους ἀκούοντες· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι Σύροι εἰσὶν ὁπλαρίοις διαφέροντες."

XVIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ 379
τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον ἀπεδείχθη τιμητής, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ μεγίστη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελείωσις. καὶ συνῆρχε μὲν αὐτῷ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντος υἱός, ἐξέβαλον δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν τέσσαρας, προσεδέξαντο δὲ πολίτας ἀπογραφομένους πάντας, ὅσοι γονέων ἐλευθέρων ἦσαν, ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου Τερεντίου Κουλέωνος, ὃς ἐπηρεάζων τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ταῦτα ψηφίσασθαι.

2 Τῶν δὲ γνωριμωτάτων κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων ἐν τῇ πόλει διαφερομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος καὶ Μάρκου Κάτωνος, τὸν μὲν προέγραψε τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ἄριστον ἄνδρα καὶ πρῶτον, Κάτωνι δ' εἰς ἔχθραν ἦλθε συμφορᾷ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος. ἀδελφὸς ἦν Τίτῳ Λεύκιος Φλαμινῖνος, οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα προσεοικὼς ἐκείνῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔν τε ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀνελεύθερος δεινῶς
3 καὶ ὀλιγωρότατος τοῦ πρέποντος. τούτῳ συνῆν μειρακίσκος ἐρώμενος, ὃν καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄρχων ἐπήγετο καὶ διέπων ἐπαρχίας εἶχεν ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτόν. ἐν οὖν πότῳ τινὶ θρυπτόμενος πρὸς τὸν

[1] Cf. *Morals*, p. 197 c (Livy, xxxv. 49).

Achaia, do not be astonished when you hear of the Spear-bearers and Lance-bearers and Foot-companions in the army of Antiochus; for they are all Syrians and differ only in the way they are armed."[1]

XVIII. After his achievements in Greece and the war with Antiochus, Titus was appointed censor.[2] This is the highest office at Rome, and in a manner the culmination of a political career. Titus had as colleague in this office a son of the Marcellus[3] who had been five times consul, and the two censors ejected from the senate four men of lesser note, and received into citizenship all who offered themselves for enrolment, provided they were born of free parents. To this step they were forced by the tribune Terentius Culeo, who wanted to spite the nobility and so persuaded the people to vote the measure.

The two men of his time who were most notable and had the greatest influence in the city, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were at variance with one another. Of these, Titus appointed Scipio to be Dean of the Senate,[4] believing him to be its best and foremost man; but with Cato he came into hostile relations, owing to the following unfortunate circumstances. Titus had a brother, Lucius, who was unlike him in all other ways, and especially in his shameful addiction to pleasure and his utter contempt of decency. This brother had as companion a young boy whom he loved, and took him about and kept him always in his train, whether he was commanding an army or administering a province. At some drinking party, then, this boy was playing the coquet

[2] In 189 B.C. [3] Cf. chapter i. 3.
[4] Cf. the *Tiberius Gracchus*, iv. 1; *Cato the Elder*, xvii. 1.

Λεύκιον οὕτως ἔφη σφόδρα φιλεῖν αὐτόν, ὥστε θέαν μονομάχων ἀπολιπεῖν οὔπω γεγονὼς ἀνθρώπου φονευομένου θεατής, τὸ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἡδὺ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ θέμενος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἡσθεὶς "Οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δεινόν· ἰάσομαι γὰρ ἐγώ
4 σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν." καὶ κελεύσας ἕνα τῶν καταδίκων ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου προαχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην μεταπεμψάμενος, ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ προσέταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον. Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας οὐκ ἐρωμένῳ φησίν, ἀλλ' ἐρωμένῃ τοῦτο χαρίσασθαι τὸν Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ Λίβιος ἐν λόγῳ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι φησίν, ὡς Γαλάτην αὐτόμολον ἐλθόντα μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας δεξάμενος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ Λεύκιος ἀπέκτεινεν ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ τῷ ἐρωμένῳ χαρι-
5 ζόμενος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς εἰς δείνωσιν εἰρῆσθαι τῆς κατηγορίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος· ὅτι δὲ οὐκ αὐτόμολος ἦν, ἀλλὰ δεσμώτης ὁ ἀναιρεθεὶς καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταδίκων, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ γήρως αὐτῷ Κάτωνι τὴν διήγησιν ἀναθεὶς εἴρηκεν.

XIX. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κάτων τιμητὴς γενόμενος καὶ καθαίρων τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπήλασε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν Λεύκιον, ὑπατικοῦ μὲν ἀξιώματος ὄντα, συνατιμοῦσθαι δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ. διὸ καὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀμφότεροι ταπεινοὶ

[1] Cf. Livy, xxxix. 43.

with Lucius, and said he loved him so ardently that he had come away from a show of gladiators in order to be with him, although he had never in all his life seen a man killed; and he had done so, he said, because he cared more for his lover's pleasure than for his own. Lucius was delighted at this, and said: "Don't worry about that! I will give thee thy heart's desire." Then ordering a man who had been condemned to death to be brought forth from his prison, and sending for a lictor, he commanded him to strike off the man's head there in the banquet-hall. Valerius Antias, however, says it was not a lover, but a mistress whom Lucius thus sought to gratify.[1] And Livy says that in a speech of Cato himself it is written that a Gaulish deserter had come to the door with his wife and children, and that Lucius admitted him into the banquet-hall and slew him with his own hand to gratify his lover. This feature, however, was probably introduced by Cato to strengthen the force of his denunciation; for that it was not a deserter, but a prisoner, who was put to death, and one who had been condemned to die, is the testimony of many others, and especially of Cicero the orator in his treatise "On Old Age," where he puts the story in the mouth of Cato himself.[2]

XIX. In view of this, when Cato became censor[3] and was purging the senate of its unworthy members, he expelled from it Lucius Flamininus, although he was a man of consular dignity, and although his brother Titus was thought to be involved in his disgrace. Therefore the two brothers came before the people in lowly garb and bathed in tears, and

[2] Cf. *Cato the Elder*, xvii. 1–4; Livy, xxxix. 42.
[3] In 184 B.C.

καὶ δεδακρυμένοι μέτρια δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδόκουν, ἀξιοῦντες αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ λόγον, ᾧ χρησάμενος οἶκον ἔνδοξον ἀτιμίᾳ τοσαύτῃ
2 περιβέβληκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ὑποστειλάμενος ὁ Κάτων προῆλθε, καὶ καταστὰς μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἠρώτησε τὸν Τίτον εἰ γινώσκει τὸ συμπόσιον. ἀρνουμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, διηγησάμενος εἰς ὁρισμὸν προεκαλεῖτο τὸν Λεύκιον εἴ τί φησι τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀληθὲς εἶναι. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου σιωπήσαντος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἔγνω δικαίαν γεγονέναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προέπεμψε λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ
3 βήματος, ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῇ συμφορᾷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περιπαθῶν συνέστη μετὰ τῶν πάλαι μισούντων τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ πάσας μὲν ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τῶν δημοσίων ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις καὶ ὠνὰς ἠκύρωσε καὶ ἀνέλυσεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κρατήσας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας δίκας κατ' αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εὖ καὶ πολιτικῶς πρὸς ἄρχοντα νόμιμον καὶ πολίτην ἄριστου ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου μέν, ἀναξίου δὲ καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα
4 πεπονθότος ἀνήκεστον ἔχθραν ἀράμενος. οὐ μὴν 380
ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ δήμου θέαν ἔχοντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, κόσμῳ προκαθημένης, ὀφθεὶς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις που καθήμενος· ἀτίμως καὶ ταπεινῶς οἶκτον ἔσχε· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ' ἐβόων μεταβῆναι κελεύοντες, ἕως μετέβη, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τῶν ὑπατικῶν.

made what seemed a reasonable request of their fellow citizens, namely, that Cato should state the reasons which had led him to visit a noble house with a disgrace so great. Without any hesitation, then, Cato came forward, and standing with his colleague before Titus, asked him if he knew about the banquet. Titus said he did not, whereupon Cato related the incident and formally challenged Lucius to say whether any part of the story told was not true. But Lucius was dumb, and the people therefore saw that he had been justly disgraced, and gave Cato a splendid escort away from the rostra. Titus, however, was so affected by the misfortune of his brother that he leagued himself with those who had long hated Cato, and after getting the upper hand in the senate, revoked and annulled all the public rentals and leases and contracts which Cato had made, besides bringing many heavy indictments against him.[1] That he acted the part of a good man or a good citizen I cannot affirm, in thus cherishing an incurable hatred against a lawful magistrate and a most excellent citizen on account of a man who, though a kinsman, was nevertheless unworthy and had suffered only what he deserved. However, as the Roman people was once enjoying a spectacle in the theatre, and the senate, according to custom, had seats of honour in the foremost rows, Lucius was seen sitting somewhere in the rear among the poor and lowly, and excited men's pity. The multitude could not bear the sight, but kept shouting to him to change his place, until he did change his place, and was received among their own number by the men of consular rank.

[1] Cf. *Cato the Elder*, xix. 2; Livy, xxxix. 44.

XX. Τὸ δ' οὖν φύσει Τίτου φιλότιμον, ἄχρι μὲν ἱκανὴν εἶχεν ὕλην περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους πολέμους διατρίβοντος, εὐδοκίμει· καὶ γὰρ ἐχιλιάρχησεν αὖθις μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος· ἀπαλλαγεὶς δὲ τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἠλέγχετο μᾶλλον, ἐν οὐκ ἔχοντι πράξεις ἔτι τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ σπαργῶντα πρὸς δόξαν καὶ νεανίζοντα
2 τῷ πάθει κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ δυνάμενος. τοιαύτῃ γάρ τινι καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀννίβαν φορᾷ ἐδόκει πράξας ἐπαχθὴς γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας οἴκοθεν μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ὑπεκδρὰς Ἀντιόχῳ συνῆν, ἐκείνου δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μάχην εἰρήνης ἀγαπητῶς τυχόντος, αὖθις φεύγων καὶ πλανηθεὶς πολλὰ τέλος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ κατέστη Προυσίαν θεραπεύων, οὐδενὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀγνοοῦντος, ἀλλὰ παρορώντων ἁπάντων δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας ὥσπερ ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης.
3 Τίτος δὲ πρεσβευτὴς δι' ἑτέρας δή τινας πράξεις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὸν Προυσίαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἰδὼν αὐτόθι διαιτώμενον, ἠγανάκτησεν εἰ ζῇ, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Προυσίου δεομένου καὶ λιπαροῦντος ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἱκέτου καὶ συνήθους οὐ παρῆκε. χρησμοῦ δέ τινος, ὡς ἔοικε, παλαιοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου τελευτῆς οὕτως ἔχοντος,

Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας,

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[1] The battle at Magnesia, in Lydia, 191 B.C. Under the terms of peace, Antiochus was to deliver Hannibal to the Romans. Cf. Livy, xxxvii. 45.

XX. Now, the native ambition of Titus, as long as it had sufficient material to gratify it in the wars which I have mentioned, met with praise, as, for instance, when he served a second time as military tribune after having been consul, though there was no necessity for it; but after he had ceased to hold office and was well on in years, he met the rather with censure, because, although the portion of life which still remained to him did not admit of great activity, he was unable to restrain his passion for glory and his youthful ardour. For by some such fierce impulse, as it would seem, he was led to his treatment of Hannibal, which made him odious to most people. Hannibal had secretly fled from his native Carthage and spent some time at the court of Antiochus; but when Antiochus, after the battle in Phrygia,[1] had gladly accepted terms of peace, Hannibal took to flight once more, and after many wanderings, finally settled down at the court of Prusias in Bithynia. No one at Rome was ignorant of this, but all ignored him on account of his weakness and old age, regarding him as a castaway of Fortune. Titus, however, who had been sent by the senate as ambassador to the court of Prusias on some other business,[2] and saw that Hannibal was staying there, was incensed that he should be alive, and although Prusias made many fervent intercessions in behalf of a man who was a suppliant and familiar friend, would not relent. There was an ancient oracle, as it would appear, concerning Hannibal's death, and it ran as follows:—

"Libyssan earth shall cover the form of Hannibal."

[2] According to Livy (xxxix. 51), Hannibal's presence in Bithynia was part of Rome's complaint against Prusias.

ὁ μὲν ἄρα Λιβύην ὑπενόει καὶ τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι
4 ταφάς, ὡς ἐκεῖ καταβιωσόμενος· ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ
τόπος ἐστὶ θινώδης ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ
κώμη τις μεγάλη Λίβυσσα καλεῖται. περὶ ταύ-
την ἔτυχε διατρίβων Ἀννίβας. ἀεὶ δὲ ἀπιστῶν
τῇ τοῦ Προυσίου μαλακίᾳ καὶ φοβούμενος τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους τὴν οἰκίαν ἔτι πρότερον ἐξόδοις ἑπτὰ
καταγείοις συντετρημένην ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαίτης
εἶχεν, ἄλλου κατ᾽ ἄλλο τῶν ὑπονόμων, πόρρω δὲ
5 πάντων ἀδήλως ἐκφερόντων. ὡς οὖν ἤκουσε τότε
τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Τίτου, φεύγειν μὲν ὥρμησε διὰ
τῶν ὑπονόμων, ἐντυχὼν δὲ φυλακαῖς βασιλικαῖς
ἔγνω δι᾽ αὑτοῦ τελευτᾶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν
ὡς ἱμάτιον τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλὼν καὶ κελεύσας
οἰκέτην ὄπισθεν ἐρείσαντα κατὰ τοῦ ἰσχίου τὸ
γόνυ καὶ σφοδρῶς ἀνακλάσαντα συντεῖναι καὶ
περιστρέψαι, μέχρι ἂν ἐκθλίψαι τὸ πνεῦμα,
διαφθείρειεν αὑτόν· ἔνιοι δὲ μιμησάμενον Θεμι-
6 στοκλέα καὶ Μίδαν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν· Λίβιος
δέ φησι φάρμακον ἔχοντα κεράσαι καὶ τὴν κύλικα
δεξάμενον εἰπεῖν· "Ἀναπαύσωμεν ἤδη ποτὲ τὴν
πολλὴν φροντίδα Ῥωμαίων, οἳ μακρὸν ἡγήσαντο
καὶ βαρὺ μισουμένου γέροντος ἀναμεῖναι θάνατον.
οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Τίτος ἀξιοζήλωτον ἀποίσεται νίκην
οὐδὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίαν, οἳ Πύρρῳ πολεμοῦντι
καὶ κρατοῦντι τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑποπέμψαντες κατε-
μήνυσαν φαρμακείαν."

Hannibal thought this referred to Libya and a burial at Carthage, and believed that he would end his days there; but there is a sandy tract in Bithynia on the sea-shore, and on its border a large village called Libyssa. Near this village Hannibal was living. But he had always distrusted the weakness of Prusias and feared the Romans, and therefore even before this time his house had been provided with seven underground exits leading from his own chamber. These ran in different directions beneath the surface of the ground, but all had secret issues far away. Accordingly, when he now heard of the behest of Titus, he set out to make his escape by way of the underground passages, but encountered guards of the king, and therefore determined to take his own life. Some say that he wound his cloak about his neck and then ordered a servant to plant his knee in the small of his back, pull the rope towards him with all his might until it was twisted tight, and so to choke and kill him; some, too, say that he drank bull's blood in imitation of Themistocles [1] and Midas; but Livy says [2] that he had poison which he ordered to be mixed, and took the cup with these words: "Let us now at last put an end to the great anxiety of the Romans, who have thought it too long and hard a task to wait for the death of a hated old man. Nevertheless, Titus will not bear away an enviable victory, nor one worthy of his forefathers, who sent secret information to Pyrrhus, when he was at war with them and a victor over them, of the poisoning that was going to be attempted." [3]

[1] Cf. the *Themistocles*, xxxi. 5.
[2] Livy, xxxix. 51. [3] Cf. the *Pyrrhus*, xxi. 1-3.

XXI. Οὕτω μὲν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀποθανεῖν λέ-
γουσιν. ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐπαχθὴς ἔδοξεν ὁ Τίτος
καὶ περιττὸς ἄγαν καὶ ὠμός, ὥσπερ ὄρνιν ὑπὸ
γήρως ἀπτῆνα καὶ κόλουρον ἀφειμένον ζῆν χει-
ροήθη τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀποκτείνας, οὐδενὸς ἐπεί-
γοντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξαν, ὡς ἐπώνυμος τοῦ θανάτου
2 γένοιτο. καὶ τὴν Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος ἐκτι-
θέντες πρᾳότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐθαύμαζον, ὡς ἀήττητον ὄντα καὶ φοβερὸν ἐν
Λιβύῃ καταπολεμήσας Ἀννίβαν οὔτε ἐξήλασεν 381
οὔτε ἐξῃτήσατο παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ
τῆς μάχης εἰς λόγους ἐλθὼν ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ μετὰ
τὴν μάχην σπενδόμενος οὐδὲν ἐπετόλμησεν οὐδ'
3 ἐπενέβη τῇ τύχῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός. λέγεται δὲ αὖθις
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συμβαλεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν
τῷ συμπεριπατεῖν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὴν προσήκουσαν
ἐν ἀξιώματι τάξιν ἐκείνῳ[1] προλαβόντος ἀνέχε-
σθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν ἀφελῶς τὸν Ἀφρικανόν,
ἔπειτα λόγου περὶ στρατηγῶν ἐμπεσόντος καὶ τοῦ
Ἀννίβου κράτιστον ἀποφηναμένου γεγονέναι τῶν
στρατηγῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἶτα Πύρρον, τρίτον δὲ
αὑτόν, ἡσυχῇ μειδιάσαντα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν εἰπεῖν,
"Τί δ', εἰ μή σε ἐγὼ νενικήκειν;" καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν,
4 "Οὐκ ἄν, ὦ Σκηπίων," φάναι, "τρίτον ἐμαυτόν,
ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐποιούμην τῶν στρατηγῶν."

Ταῦτα δὴ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος οἱ πολλοὶ θαυμάζοντες

[1] ἐκείνῳ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: εἶναι. Blass corrects to προήκουσαν ἐν ἀ. τάξιν.

XXI. Such are the accounts of the death of Hannibal. When the story of it was brought to the senate, many of them thought the conduct of Titus odious, officious, and cruel; for he had killed Hannibal when he was like a bird permitted to live a tame and harmless life because too old to fly and without a tail, and there had been no necessity for his doing this, but he did it to win fame, that his name might be associated with the death of Hannibal. Men also pointed to the clemency and magnanimity of Scipio Africanus and admired it all the more, since after defeating a Hannibal who had not been conquered before and was filling Africa with fear, he neither drove him from the country nor demanded his surrender by his fellow citizens, nay, he actually gave him a kindly greeting when he held conference with him before the battle, and after the battle, in making terms of peace, he did not insult or trample upon the fortunes of his foe.[1] Moreover, we are told that the two men met again at Ephesus, and in the first place, that when, as they were walking about together, Hannibal took the side which more properly belonged to Scipio as the superior, Scipio suffered it and walked about without paying any heed to it; and again, that when they fell to discussing generals and Hannibal declared Alexander to have been the mightiest of generals, and next to him Pyrrhus, and third himself, Scipio asked with a quiet smile, "And what wouldst thou have said if I had not conquered thee?" To which Hannibal replied, "In that case, Scipio, I should not have counted myself third, but first of generals."[2]

Such conduct on the part of Scipio most people

[1] Cf. Livy, xxx. 29 ff. [2] Cf. Livy, xxxv. 14.

ἐκάκιζον τὸν Τίτον ὡς ἀλλοτρίῳ νεκρῷ προσε-
νεγκόντα τὰς χεῖρας. ἔνιοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὸ πεπρα-
γμένον ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἕως ἔζη,
5 πῦρ ἡγούμενοι δεόμενον τοῦ ῥιπίζοντος· μηδὲ γὰρ
ἀκμάζοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὴν
χεῖρα φοβεράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἐμπει-
ρίαν γεγονέναι μετὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου πικρίας καὶ
δυσμενείας, ὧν οὐδὲν ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλ'
ὑπομένειν τὴν φύσιν ἐν τῷ ἤθει, τὴν δὲ τύχην οὐ
διαμένειν ὁμοίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταπίπτουσαν ἐκκαλεῖ-
σθαι ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις τοὺς ἀεὶ τῷ
6 μισεῖν πολεμοῦντας. καὶ τὰ ὕστερά πως ἔτι
μᾶλλον ἐμαρτύρησε τῷ Τίτῳ, τοῦτο μὲν Ἀριστό-
νικος ὁ τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ διὰ τὴν Εὐμενοῦς δόξαν
ἐμπλήσας ἅπασαν ἀποστάσεων καὶ πολέμων τὴν
Ἀσίαν, τοῦτο δὲ Μιθριδάτης μετὰ Σύλλαν καὶ
Φιμβρίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄλεθρον στρατευμάτων
καὶ στρατηγῶν αὖθις ἐπὶ Λεύκολλον ἐκ γῆς ὁμοῦ
καὶ θαλάττης ἀναστὰς τηλικοῦτος.
7 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γαΐου Μαρίου ταπεινότερος Ἀννί-
βας ἔκειτο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς φίλος ὑπῆρχε
καὶ βίος ἦν συνήθης καὶ διατριβαὶ περὶ ναῦς καὶ
ἵππους καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν· τὰς δὲ Μαρίου
τύχας Ῥωμαῖοι γελῶντες ἀλωμένου καὶ πτωχεύ-
οντος ἐν Λιβύῃ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σφαττό-
μενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι προσεκύνουν. οὕτως

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[1] In 131–130 B.C. [2] In 88–84 B.C.

admired, and they blamed Titus for having laid violent hands on one whom another had slain. But some there were who praised what he had done and thought that Hannibal, as long as he was alive, was a consuming fire which needed only to be fanned; for when he was in his prime, they said, it was not his body nor his arm that had been formidable to the Romans, but his ability and experience coupled with his ingrained bitterness and hostility, and from these naught is subtracted by old age, but the natural characteristics remain unchanged: whereas fortune does not remain the same, but changes sides, and summons with hope to fresh undertakings those whom hatred makes perpetual foes. And subsequent events were perhaps still more a justification of Titus; for Aristonicus, the son of a harpist's daughter, used his reputed connexion with Eumenes to fill all Asia with wars and rebellions,[1] and Mithridates, notwithstanding his defeats by Sulla and Fimbria and his great losses in armies and generals,[2] rose once more to be a formidable antagonist of Lucullus by land and sea.[3]

However, not even Hannibal was reduced to a lower level than Caius Marius. For Hannibal had a king as his friend, and his days as usual were occupied with ships and horses and the care of soldiers; whereas Marius in his misfortunes was a laughing-stock to the Romans as he wandered about and begged his way in Africa, though after a little while he was in Rome with his axes at their necks and his rods at their backs, and they were humbly begging his mercy. So true is it that nothing in the present

[3] In 74–67 B.C. The argument is that if so great dangers to Rome were latent in Asia, the presence of Hannibal there was a menace.

οὐδὲν οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα τῶν παρόντων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μία τοῦ μεταβάλλειν
8 τελευτὴ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι. διὸ καί φασιν ἔνιοι Τίτον οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, πεμφθῆναι δὲ πρεσβευτὴν μετὰ Λευκίου Σκηπίωνος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῆς πρεσβείας ἐχούσης ἔργον ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβου θάνατον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι τούτων κατόπιν οὔτε πολιτικὴν τοῦ Τίτου πρᾶξιν οὔτε πολεμικὴν ἱστορήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν εἰρηνικῆς, ὥρα τὴν σύγκρισιν ἐπισκοπεῖν.

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Μεγέθει μὲν οὖν τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργεσιῶν οὔτε Φιλοποίμενα Τίτῳ παραβάλλειν οὔτε πάνυ πολλοὺς τῶν Φιλοποίμενος ἀμεινόνων ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλησι πρὸς Ἕλληνας οἱ πόλεμοι, τῷ δὲ οὐχ Ἕλληνι καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ὅτε Φιλοποίμην ἀμηχανῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις ἀμύνειν πολεμουμένοις εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆρε, τότε νικήσας Τίτος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι Φίλιππον ἠλευθέρου καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις
2 ἁπάσας. εἰ δέ τις ἐξετάζοι τὰς μάχας ἑκατέρου, πλείους Ἕλληνας Φιλοποίμην Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας Τίτος Ἕλλησι βοηθῶν ἀνεῖλε.

Τὰ τοίνυν ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ μὲν φιλοτιμίας,

is either small or great in view of what may happen in the future, but change, like life, can only end with death. For this reason some say that Titus did not take this step on his own account, but that he was sent as ambassador with Lucius Scipio, and their embassy had no other object than the death of Hannibal.

We do not find that Titus was active after this, either as statesman or soldier, and his end was a peaceful one. It is therefore time to think of our comparison.

COMPARISON OF PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS

I. Accordingly, in the magnitude of their benefactions to the Greeks, neither Philopoemen nor any one of the Greeks who were better men than Philopoemen is worthy of comparison with Titus. For they were Greeks and waged their wars against Greeks; whereas Titus was not a Greek and waged war in behalf of Greeks; and at a time when Philopoemen was unable to defend his own countrymen from the attacks of their enemies, and had gone off into Crete, at that very time Titus won a victory over Philip in the heart of Greece and set her peoples and all her cities free. And if we examine into the battles which each fought, we shall find that the Greeks slain by Philopoemen as general of the Achaeans were more in number than the Macedonians slain by Titus as helper of the Greeks.

And then as to their errors, in the one they were

τοῦ δὲ φιλονεικίας γέγονε, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ μὲν
εὐκίνητος, ὁ δὲ καὶ δυσπαραίτητος. Τίτος μὲν 382
γὰρ καὶ Φιλίππῳ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βασιλείας
ἐφύλαξε καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς εὐγνωμόνησε, Φιλο-
ποίμην δὲ τῆς πατρίδος δι' ὀργὴν ἀφείλετο τὴν
3 περιοικίδα συντέλειαν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν τοῖς εὖ
παθοῦσιν ἀεὶ βέβαιος, ὁ δὲ θυμῷ λῦσαι χάριν
ἕτοιμος. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εὐεργέτης πρότερον
ὢν ὕστερον καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψε καὶ τὴν
χώραν περιέκοψε καὶ τέλος αὐτὴν μετέβαλε καὶ
διέφθειρε τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον
ὀργῇ προέσθαι καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ, μὴ κατὰ καιρόν,
ἀλλ' ὀξύτερον τοῦ δέοντος εἰς Μεσσήνην ἐπειχθείς,
οὐχ ὥσπερ Τίτος πάντα λογισμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφά-
λειαν στρατηγήσας.

II. Ἀλλὰ πλήθει γε πολέμων καὶ τροπαίων ἡ
Φιλοποίμενος ἐμπειρία βεβαιοτέρα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
τὰ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐκρίθη δυοῖν ἀγῶνοιν, ὁ δὲ
μυρίας μάχας κατορθώσας οὐδεμίαν ἀμφισβήτησιν
τῇ τύχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀπολέλοιπεν. ἔτι
δὲ ὁ μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμὴν ἐχούσῃ δυνάμει
χρησάμενος, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἤδη φθινούσης
ἐπακμάσας, δόξαν ἔσχεν, ὥστε τοῦ μὲν ἴδιον, τοῦ
δὲ κοινὸν ἔργον εἶναι τὸ κατορθούμενον· ὁ μὲν
γὰρ ἦρχεν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίει.
2 καὶ μὴν τό γε πρὸς Ἕλληνας τούτῳ γενέσθαι τοὺς
ἀγῶνας οὐκ εὐτυχῆ μέν, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς

due to ambition, in the other to a spirit of contention. For Titus preserved Philip's royal dignity and showed favour to the Aetolians; whereas the anger of Philopoemen led him to rob his native city of its supremacy over the surrounding villages. And further, the one was always constant towards his beneficiaries, while the other, to indulge his wrath, was ever ready to cancel a kindness. For instance, though he had once been a benefactor of Sparta, he afterwards tore down her walls, reduced her territory, and finally altered and destroyed her very constitution. And it would appear that he threw away his life in a fit of anger and contentiousness, by hastening to attack Messene before occasion offered and more quickly than was feasible; for he did not, like Titus, conduct all his military operations with deliberation and a due regard for safety.

II. But surely the multitude of his wars and trophies put the military experience of Philopoemen on a firmer basis. For the campaign of Titus against Philip was decided by two conflicts, whereas Philopoemen was successful in countless battles and left no room for the claim that his victories were due to fortune rather than to skill. And besides, Titus, in his quest of fame, availed himself of the culminating power of Rome; whereas Philopoemen flourished when Greece was already in declension. Therefore the success of Philopoemen was his own work, while that of Titus was the result of a community of effort; for the latter was commander of good soldiers, while the former, as commander, had to make his soldiers good. And surely the fact that Philopoemen's conflicts were with Greeks furnished a proof of his valour which was convincing even

ἀπόδειξιν παρεῖχεν· οἷς γὰρ ὅμοια τἆλλα, τῷ προὔχειν ἀρετῇ κρατοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πολεμικωτάτοις Ἑλλήνων Κρησὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμήσας, τῶν μὲν πανουργοτάτων δόλῳ, τῶν δ' ἀλκιμωτάτων τόλμῃ περιεγένετο.

3 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Τίτος μὲν ἐξ ὑποκειμένων ἐνίκα, χρώμενος ὁπλισμοῖς καὶ τάξεσιν αἷς παρέλαβε, Φιλοποίμην δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεισενεγκὼν καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον, ὥστε τὸ νικητικώτατον ὑφ' οὗ μὲν οὐκ ὂν εὑρῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ ὑπάρχον βοηθεῖν. κατὰ χεῖρα τοίνυν Φιλοποίμενος μὲν ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, θατέρου δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τις αὐτὸν Ἀρχέδημος ἐπέσκωπτεν ὡς, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐσπασμένος τὴν μάχαιραν ἔθει δρόμῳ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς συνεστῶτας τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ Τίτου τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπτίας ἀνατείναντος ἑστῶτος καὶ προσευχομένου.

III. Καὶ μὴν Τίτῳ μὲν ἄρχοντι συνέβη καὶ πρεσβεύοντι πάντα πρᾶξαι τὰ καλά, Φιλοποίμην δὲ οὐ χείρονα παρέσχεν οὐδὲ ἀπρακτότερον ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην ἢ στρατηγὸν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἰδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν Νάβιν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης καὶ Μεσσηνίους ἠλευθέρωσεν, ἰδιώτης δὲ Διοφάνην τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Τίτον ἐπερχομένους ἀπέκλεισε τῆς
2 Σπάρτης καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους διέσωσεν. οὕτως

though unfortunate: for where other things are equal, they prevail who surpass in valour. And so it was that although he carried on war with the most warlike of the Greeks, namely, the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, he surpassed the first in wiles, though they were most crafty, and the second in daring, though they were most brave.

In addition to this it may be said that Titus won his victories by using what lay ready to his hand, since he availed himself of styles of armour and formation which had come down to him, whereas Philopoemen won his successes by making contributions and changes of his own in these matters, so that in the one case what was most essential for victory did not exist and had to be discovered, while in the other it lay ready for service. In the way of personal prowess, moreover, Philopoemen performed much that was great, but Titus nothing at all; nay, an Aetolian named Archedemus mocked at him because, when he himself had drawn his sword and was running at full speed against the Macedonians who were holding together and fighting, Titus was standing with his hands stretched up towards heaven and praying for help.

III. And further, Titus was either a commander or an ambassador when he did all his noble deeds, whereas Philopoemen showed himself no less active and effective for the Achaeans when he was a private citizen than when he was their general. For it was as a private citizen that he expelled Nabis from Messene and set the Messenians free, and as a private citizen that he shut the gates of Sparta against the coming of Diophanes the general and Titus, and so saved the Lacedaemonians.

ἡγεμονικὴν φύσιν ἔχων οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἄρχειν ἠπίστατο πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οὐ δεόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων λαβεῖν τὸ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ χρώμενος αὐτοῖς, ὅπου καιρὸς εἴη, τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φρονοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ᾑρημένον ἡγούμενος στρατηγόν.

3 Γενναῖα μὲν οὖν Τίτου τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, γενναιότερα δὲ Φιλοποίμενος τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὀχυρὰ καὶ φιλελεύθερα· ῥᾷον γὰρ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ λυπεῖν ἀντιτείνοντα τοὺς δυνατωτέρους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐξεταζομένων δυσθεώρητος ἡ διαφορά, σκόπει, μὴ τῷ μὲν Ἕλληνι τὸν ἐμπειρίας πολεμικῆς καὶ στρατηγίας στέφανον, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ τὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος ἀποδιδόντες οὐ φαύλως διαιτᾶν δόξομεν.

Having this natural gift of leadership, he not only knew how to use it in accordance with the laws, but also how to dominate the laws for the common good; he did not think it necessary to be appointed commander by the people, but took them under his command when occasion required it, considering that he who took wise counsel in their behalf, rather than he who had been elected by them, was their real general.

Nobly generous, then, was the clemency and humanity which Titus showed to the Greeks, but more nobly generous was the firmness and love of freedom with which Philopoemen opposed the Romans; for it is easier to confer favours on suppliants than it is to vex with opposition those who are more powerful. But since, after this examination, the difference between the two men is hard to define, I leave it to my reader to say whether, if we award to the Greek the crown for military experience and generalship, and to the Roman that for justice and goodness of heart, we shall not make a fair decision.

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